

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 16

JULY, 1932

No. 2

NOTES AND NEWS.

FOUNDERS' Day was commemorated at the Victoria University of Manchester, on Wednesday the 11th of May, in the Whitworth Hall, when the customary ceremonial was observed, and several honorary degrees were conferred. The Prime Minister was to have been among the recipients of the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*, but he was unable to attend in consequence of the further development of the trouble affecting his eyes, and the regrettable necessity of a further operation. Those honoured were Sir James Jeans; Dr. W. D. Ross, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford; Lord Rutherford of Nelson, President of the Royal Society; Sir Arthur James Salter; and Walter Richard Sickert, President of the Society of British Artists.

In opening the proceedings the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, speaking, he declared, as a friendly and interested outsider and observer of university progress, replied to recent articles he had read under the tendentious title of: "What is wrong with modern universities?" They compelled him to ask what was right with our modern universities, and here, in their own centre of learning and scholarship, there had been a recent test of achievement which was worth stating in detail before a great meeting of that character.

We were inclined in this country to descend to a depth of self-depreciation unparalleled in any other country in the world. As a test of the justice of this attitude, so far as they themselves were concerned, he directed their attention to the distinctions conferred within the last fifteen months on those associated with the University of Manchester, by that most powerful and distinguished body, the Royal Society. Excluding their old friend and colleague, Lord Rutherford, royal medals of the society had been conferred upon Sir

Arthur Schuster, Sir Horace Lamb, and Professor W. H. Lang ; Davy medals upon Arthur Lapworth and Robert Robinson, and the Hughes medal upon Sir William Bragg. These were the foundations upon which they built, and he asserted with pride that it was a splendid record. It was evidence of achievement, of speculation, of resource ; and in the Humanities and the Arts the reputation of their University also stood high. Let us take these things, the Chancellor concluded, as an encouragement, and as giving us ever-growing confidence in ourselves and in our University and its mission.

The honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor for their degrees by Professor J. L. Stocks in the following felicitous terms :—

SIR JAMES HOPWOOD JEANS (Doctor of Science) : I present to you a mathematical physicist, the true successor of Rayleigh and Clerk-Maxwell, an ambassador from the Court of Science to the Republic of Letters, of exceptional and almost embarrassing brilliance. The higher mathematics of the quantum theory is not on the face of it a promising platform, and stellar dynamics sounds to a layman little less forbidding. Yet in these subjects he is not only a master builder but also a best-seller. The secret of this can hardly be found in his ten years' service of the Royal Society as its secretary, nor even in his happy associations, academic and domestic, with the United States. He is, in fact, an eminent but not, even in our own day, a solitary example of the supremacy of the mathematician among academics in speculative freedom and imaginative reach. His traffic with immensities and infinitesimals has loosened his hold on the common certainties, and confirmed a weakness for the fancies of poets and philosophers. He contemplates the ultimate annihilation of matter by its conversion into impalpable radiation ; and he provocatively describes the physical universe as an empty soap bubble blown of empty space and empty time. In philosophy he will play with the ideas of Descartes or Berkeley, but leans rather to Plato. We may fitly regard him, after Plato's famous simile, as one of the fortunate few among the denizens of our cave who has won his freedom through mathematics, and generously shares with his less fortunate fellows the splendour of his vision of the sun.

DOCTOR WILLIAM DAVID ROSS (Doctor of Laws) : I present to you the learned head of a college distinguished in letters and

larning ; an Aristotelean fit to be named with Alexander of Aphrodisaeus and the Florentine Cardinal Zabarella. The inner mysteries of the ancient craft of Aristotelian exegesis, of which his "Commentary on the Metaphysics" is a splendid example, he learned in nocturnal session at the candle-lit mahogany table of Ingram Bywater. As secretary of this Aristotelian society he was apt to disconcert his president by recording a decision before the matter had been fully thrashed out. Now in the eleven volumes of the Oxford Aristotle we have the ripe fruit of this defunct society, matured by its secretary in the devoted labour of nearly thirty years. For most of this time he has been a college tutor, compelled by this and by wide public interests to master the arts of the practical as well as of the theoretic life. The makers of munitions and the Clarendon Press well know his energy and sanity of judgment. He presides over the trade board which fixes the wages of the makers of our cigarettes. He would probably not pray, with St. Ambrose, to be delivered from the logic of Aristotle ; for he is deeply penetrated with its spirit. In his own speculation he seeks the self-evident for his foundations, and marshals his concise arguments with military precision. Yet he is tolerant of human weakness, and his pursuit of the dry light is sweetened by his frank enjoyment of the rigours of the chase.

ERNEST, BARON RUTHERFORD (Doctor of Laws) : I present to you the greatest living master of experimental physics, a scientist who does not wish to be reckoned either a mathematician or a philosopher. His own inspired researches into radioactivity and the structure of the nucleus, formed the starting-point of modern atomic physics and set on foot that train of physical speculation which is rapidly dissolving this solid-seeming world. On this account it has been said that he, not Einstein, is the "villain of the piece." As formerly here in Manchester, so more recently in Cambridge, his fame has collected round him a succession of remarkable pupils who have produced remarkable results. This is due not merely to the inspiration of his generosity, but also to his uncanny diviner's gift of foreseeing the possible lines on which a scientific problem may be solved. Within the last few months two discoveries of the first magnitude have been announced from the Cavendish Laboratory, both in intimate connection with the director's own researches. The discovery of the neutron provides a new factor in nuclear structure ; and the artificial disintegration of the atom by

electrical means brings near the alchemist's dream of converting the baser metals into gold. The Australasian coasts, where he was born and bred, have sent to this University other professors, one of whom is now his colleague in the Order of Merit ; and it is not perhaps fanciful to connect with his New Zealand upbringing his obstinate youthfulness and the cheerful simplicity of his attitude to life.

SIR JAMES ARTHUR SALTER (Doctor of Laws) : I present to you a civil servant whose administration has been of great moment to his country and to the world. By family tradition he should have built delicate craft for inland waters ; but he chose the Civil Service instead. The Commissioners sent him most properly to the Admiralty, and their lordships turned him by stages into a director of the movements of great ships at sea. In the naval crisis of the War he occupied one of the decisive points from which by method and organization the submarine danger was met and mastered. In the economic crisis which followed the War he was found once more at the decisive points ; first controlling allied supplies, then, as secretary of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, directing the application of the League's resources to the financial reorganization of the Succession States. The tangled problem of reparations he was able to simplify, if not to solve ; and his international economic conference of 1927 at least succeeded in showing those who had ears to hear that if they did not mend their ways they would soon be — where they now are. Of the gifts which made these services possible his books show something — lucidity, mastery of detail, breadth, and precision of view ; but without doubt this is less than the whole. Much patience and much tact ; a fine judgment of men and seasons ; a complete absence of self-assertion—all this and more must have been needed to make so perfect a master of conferences.

WALTER RICHARD SICKERT (Doctor of Laws) : I present to you a great and versatile artist, foremost in his influence on the younger generation ; a master of art who is still even more ready to learn than to teach, and who, at three score years and ten, is full of new leaf. Born in Leeds, of a family of artists with connections in many lands, more than one European country has claimed him as its own. By blood he is linked with Denmark and with Germany ; and by his art, like John Constable and Richard Bonington, he has made himself a home in France. His is no abstract art. His studies of popular

life in theatre and music-hall as well as his domestic interiors show not merely the vision of the authentic painter but also the imaginative sympathy that comes only from the deep and loving study of humanity. It is no mere coincidence that, like the great Frenchman Edgar Degas, who has influenced his painting so profoundly, he has power also with the written and the spoken word. His breadth and tolerance of mind give to his art criticism a permanent value. His generosity to younger artists and to those less gifted than himself is notorious, and during the two seasons for which he taught in Manchester, left here a memory which will long remain. His affections are indeed so comprehensive that even picture dealers are included in its scope. It may be said with confidence that in all the sea coasts of Bohemia you will not find so shrewd and so adventurous a navigator.

In acknowledging the honour that had been conferred upon him SIR JAMES JEANS said that he supposed he and his colleagues, the new honorary graduands, looked at Manchester through different-coloured spectacles. Lord Rutherford came to meet many old friends and colleagues ; others came to make new friends and the acquaintance of those whom hitherto they had known largely by reputation. Then also they all thought of Manchester differently in its physical aspect. Mr. Sickert thought, no doubt, of the two art galleries in which he (Sir James) had within the last day or two seen many of his admirable drawings and paintings. He felt some hesitation in trying to suggest what Sir Arthur Salter thought of Manchester. It might be in terms of the Ship Canal, but he thought it more likely that with the events of to-day it was in terms of the Free Trade Hall, of the statue of Cobden, and the School of Economics which was associated with the name of Manchester.

Sir James made further references to the work as a physicist which Lord Rutherford and his assistants initiated in Manchester and which in its development and implications made Manchester to a physicist to-day an outstanding centre in the universe. Mentioning Sir Joseph Thomson, Sir Arthur Schuster, and Sir Horace Lamb also as Manchester men and as having added much to the prestige of the University, Sir James caused some amusement by pointing out that the Chancellor had fallen into that attitude of self-depreciation against which he inveighed by attributing royal medals to Manchester men who had received from the Royal Society the Copley Medal,

which was supposed to set the crown upon a life of distinguished service.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER also replied. He declared himself as appearing before them as "one who has believed, and does believe, in the construction of a world order—an internationalist, and an impenitent internationalist. We who believe this, and who believe that while nationalities will remain, and should remain, they should remain as constituent elements in a greater order, are at this moment disappointed indeed, but neither dejected nor disillusioned, nor defeated. The time will come again, and perhaps the world will learn, and learn quickly, under the severe schooling of the months ahead. I live in that hope, and certainly I cherish and maintain my faith."

Sir Arthur spoke of some of the immediate economic problems, but went on to suggest that a deeper trouble was that there was a great inadequacy in the whole method and scheme and art of governmental administration in the widest sense. That was not, on the whole, because man had become so much less able in this art in recent years, but because the task set before him had become so much greater and so much more difficult. Turning to Lord Rutherford, he mentioned those specialized activities initiated by science, whose effects had penetrated throughout life, and he mentioned also those sectional and class ambitions and desires and all the more varied play and development of modern human life as contributing to the general complexity for the controlling of which man's regulated wisdom was incapable. He made the suggestion that in conferring on Lord Rutherford the Doctorate of Laws the University of Manchester looked to him, and those whom he represented, to assume some responsibility for the Frankensteins they were creating.

Half the art of government, Sir Arthur Salter concluded, was the luck of having people who could be governed. Half the art of leadership was to be so happy as to lead those who, having exercised a critical and discriminating selection of their leaders, would afterwards be led. That was the fundamental problem of the modern world, and in its solution the universities, and particularly that university, had a function to play of the utmost value to the world.

At a meeting of the Court of Governors of the University, which preceded the commemoration ceremony, the work of the year was

reviewed by the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. W. H. Moberly). In opening his review Dr. Moberly referred to the loss which the university shares with Manchester, and, indeed, with the world, in the deaths, so soon after one another, of Mr. C. P. Scott and his son Mr. E. T. Scott. It is over fifty years since Mr. C. P. Scott became a member of the body which was the predecessor of the University Court—the Court of Owens College. It is over forty years since he became a member of the Council of Owens College, and during all the long period which has since elapsed he had extended to the University a full measure of the discerning sympathy and support which he gave to all good causes.

VICE-
CHANCEL-
LOR'S
REVIEW OF
THE YEAR.

Mr. C. P. Scott was succeeded in the membership of the Court and Council, nearly three years ago, by his son Mr. E. T. Scott, who in his own characteristically quiet and unostentatious way had taken a full part in the proceedings of the Council and its committees. He had already won and was steadily winning more and more the friendship and confidence of a very large number of the members both of the Council and Senate, and, continued Dr. Moberly, we had been looking forward to many years to come, when that would have been steadily deepened. The loss to us as to everyone is very great.

Among the changes in the professoriate Dr. Moberly mentioned the impending retirement of Professor Bompas Smith from the Chair of Education and directorship of the training department, which he had held for twenty years and to the direction of which he had brought those singularly appropriate qualities of wide experience, patience, fairness of mind, and sweetness of temper, which had not only helped him in his important and difficult duties, but had been among the qualities which caused his colleagues to elect him to the extremely important position of chairman of the Joint Matriculation Board. Professor Bompas Smith will be succeeded by Mr. J. F. Duff, M.A., who had been second in command of the department. Professor Rébora, who has held the Chair of Italian since 1923, is leaving to take a similar chair in the British Institute of Studies in Florence, and will be succeeded by Dr. Pratz, who has been in charge of the Italian department in the University of Liverpool in recent years.

With reference to finance, Dr. Moberly said that in view of the uncertainty of the national conditions rigorous inquiry had been undertaken into the finance of the University with a view to ascertaining

what economies could be put in practice without serious loss of efficiency, and steps were being taken to put their house in order. This was no time for new or extensive building operations, and it was true that cramped quarters were not the greatest evil from which a university could suffer. But it was a very serious evil, and a considerable number of departments, and certainly the students' unions and the refectory, were very badly overcrowded. The corporate life of the University must consequently suffer until these things could be set right.

There had been a continuance of the slow and steady increase in the number of students, and the experiments, of which he spoke a year ago, which had been made towards improving the corporate life of the University and the relations between the staff and students had been continued and considerably extended. The students and their officials had devoted a good deal of energy and thought to fostering these improvements. One result of these efforts at co-operation was to focus attention on the problem of what contribution the University was really making to the life of the world.

The non-residential universities were in the early days of trying to discover ways of encouraging a corporate life which would tend to educate the student in other ways than he could get in the classroom. Much thought was being given to this problem both by staff and students.

The other main function of the University was to provide or train leaders of thought, and to find inspiring teachers who would make real contributions to knowledge. In spite of many difficulties, whenever an appointment had to be filled it was faced by all those concerned with an anxious sense of responsibility. How successful they were only the future could determine. There was one thing, at least, he could say. In its earlier days the University was made great not only by attracting men of great distinction, but by getting their devotion. They did believe in it. He could say with some knowledge of his colleagues that they believed too. That was a good omen.

We offer to Mr. J. W. Marsden, J.P., the Chairman of the Council of Governors of the Rylands Library, our hearty congratulations upon the well-merited recognition of his long, loyal, and untiring service to the Blackburn Grammar School, of which for thirty-four years he has been a governor, and for the last twelve years has filled the position of chairman, which found expression at a meeting held in

MR. J. W.
MARSDEN
AND THE
BLACK-
BURN
GRAMMAR
SCHOOL.

"Big School," on the 22nd of February, when Mr. Marsden was presented with his portrait in oils, which, in turn, he handed over to the Governors to be hung in the great hall where the presentation took place.

The occasion was marked by a large and enthusiastic gathering of friends and "old boys," who assembled to honour one, who for a long period of years had rendered unremitting and conspicuous service, not only to the Grammar School in particular, but also to the cause of education in general.

Glowing tributes of grateful appreciation and affection were paid by the Headmaster, the teaching staff, and his fellow Governors, to Mr. Marsden's genuine appreciation of scholarship, and his high sense of the spiritual value of education, which had proved such a constant source of inspiration to them in their work. He had displayed a firm faith and trust in the staff, and had seen to it that he had a personal knowledge of and acquaintance with every member. In the course of the proceedings it was suggested that a very good motto for Mr. Marsden would be "Service before Self," which admirably summed up his attitude to life.

We also offer our congratulations to Dr. Richard Godfrey Parsons, Bishop Suffragan of Middleton, and Canon and Sub-dean of Manchester Cathedral, upon his appointment to the Bishopric of Southwark, rendered vacant by the translation of Dr. Cyril Forster Garbett to the See of Winchester.

DR. PAR-
SONS, THE
NEW
BISHOP OF
SOUTH-
WARK.

The new Bishop of Southwark was the first holder of the Suffragan Bishopric of Middleton. He is well known as a theological scholar, and as one of the seven authors of the book entitled "Foundations," which created a stir on its appearance twenty years ago, and to which his contribution was "The Interpretation of Christ."

Dr. Parsons is a Manchester man. He was born at Pendleton, and was educated at Durham College and Oxford, where he gained many honours, including a classical demyship at Magdalen College, a first class in Lit. Hum. and first class honours in theology. He was Liddon theological student in 1906, and a Fellow prælector and Chaplain of University College from 1907-1911. He became an assistant curate at Hampstead Parish Church on his ordination in

1907, and four years later was appointed Head of Wells Theological College. He served as chaplain to the forces in the War, became Vicar of Poynton, Cheshire, in 1916, and in 1919 was appointed Rector of Birch-in-Rusholme, Manchester. In 1927 he was consecrated Bishop Suffragan of Middleton, and last year was appointed sub-dean of Manchester Cathedral. Dr. Parsons was dean of the Theological Faculty in Manchester University for two years, and has been examining chaplain to four bishops.

For five years Dr. Parsons has been a Governor of the John Rylands Library, having succeeded Dr. William Temple upon his elevation from the See of Manchester to the Archbishopric of York. His genial presence and helpful collaboration will be sorely missed by his colleagues on the Council of Governors, and by the writer.

In January last Dr. A. Mingana, whose name has long been familiar to readers of the BULLETIN, relinquished his position as keeper of the Oriental manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, in order to take up a similar position in the newly erected Library of the Selly Oak Colleges at Birmingham. The break was not a sudden one, for since 1926, although continuing to reside in Manchester, Dr. Mingana had divided his time between the Rylands Library and Selly Oak, where, in the Rendel Harris Library, the newly acquired collection of Oriental manuscripts had been housed.

DR. MIN-
GANA
TAKES
LEAVE OF
RYLANDS.

Dr. Mingana joined the staff of the Rylands Library in July, 1915, with the primary object of preparing for publication a catalogue of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts, which is regarded as one of the most important extant.

It was at Selly Oak that the Librarian first met Dr. Mingana, and it was to Dr. Rendel Harris that he owes his first introduction to him. If at first the meeting was of a casual nature, it proved to be an eventful one for all parties concerned. From the time that Dr. Mingana settled in Manchester he had rendered incalculable service to the Library in particular, and to Oriental scholarship in general.

For nearly seventeen years Dr. Mingana had persistently laboured at the "Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts," and before leaving Manchester he had completed the catalogue proper, which fills

nearly 600 quarto printed pages. The indices alone remain to be compiled.

In the course of this work a number of most important discoveries were made, many of which have been described or published in the pages of the BULLETIN. Perhaps the most noteworthy was that of the earliest known apology for Islam as against Christianity, written about 850 A.D., at Baghdad, by 'Ali Ṭabari, at the Court of and with the assistance of the Caliph Muttawakkil. This was considered to be of such outstanding importance that Dr. Mingana was requested to prepare the text and an English translation for publication. This was done, and the two volumes were issued by the Governors, in 1923, under the title: "The Book of Religion and Empire," and at once caused a great stir in the East. Another find which, upon its publication in the BULLETIN, also excited considerable interest in the East, was a Charter of Protection granted to the Nestorian Christian Church in A.D. 1138 by Muktafi II, the Mohammedan Caliph of Baghdad. No such charter of protection of Christians by a Mohammedan Caliph had hitherto been known. Other articles, including, in particular, two on the Early Spread of Christianity in India and the Far East, which have thrown a flood of new light upon the subjects with which they deal, have met with a very warm welcome from students of the early history, not only of Christianity, but of Islam, and have resulted in extending the influence and interest of the BULLETIN, and of directing attention to the richness of the collection, the examination of which has yielded such excellent results.

In the spring of 1923, in the autumn of 1925, and again in 1929 Dr. Mingana undertook journeys to the East in search of manuscripts. This project was generously financed by Mr. Edward Cadbury, with the result that Dr. Mingana exceeded his most sanguine anticipations by bringing back some six hundred Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts, together with a large number of Arabic examples. The Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts are of the greatest possible importance, comprising, as they do, many lost texts of the Early Christian Fathers, and also of Christian Apocrypha. Some of these texts have been edited with critical apparatus and translations by Dr. Mingana, and have made their appearance in the pages of the BULLETIN, under the serial title: "Woodbrooke Studies," but many remain still to

be dealt with, and will be issued in future in volume form from Selly Oak.

These are the manuscripts which form part of the equipment of the new library building which Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury have provided for the Selly Oak Colleges, the dedication of which is referred to in the succeeding paragraphs.

It was on Monday, the 25th of April, that the new library was declared open by Mrs. Edward Cadbury. The writer was prevented by official engagements from taking part in the proceedings, but the John Rylands Library was fittingly represented by one of its Trustees, in the person of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who, on behalf of his fellow Trustees and Governors, offered to those connected with the Selly Oak Colleges Library most friendly and respectful congratulations on the inception of a magnificent piece of work.

SELLY OAK
COLLEGES
LIBRARY.

Speaking in the George Cadbury Hall, which adjoins the new library, prior to the actual ceremony of dedication, Lord Crawford declared: that the value of the library lay, not in the accumulation of its treasures, or in its fine home, but on the use to which the treasure was put; and a library of that kind marked the datum line in the intellectual history of the community. It gave them new tests of measurement in the volume and degree of learning. He liked the catholicity of the library. He liked its varied aspect and perspective, all of which converged on its one central and dominating theme.

Of the facilities afforded for original and critical research, Lord Crawford said: the longer the students were connected with the library the more would they realize that original research, even if not in the particular brand of learning with which they themselves were connected, was the fundamental basis of general progress in scholarship. Even if the work was in social science, or hygiene, or anthropology, or missionary enterprise, the fact that original research was being done in that astonishing section of Eastern work was of value to them personally as well as collectively to the colleges.

The treasure house they possessed was almost incalculable in value. It was not yet known how widespread was the possession itself. It was only as time went on, as those documents were slowly and laboriously deciphered, that the full value of its contents could be properly appreciated.

The facilities granted to us to-day to acquire knowledge, added Lord Crawford, are unparalleled in the history of scholarship, not only in the physical surroundings, but in the technical equipment. Think of the texts that are being published ; think of the value of photography, and of the ease with which documents can be reproduced. The great scholars of bygone days had none of these wonderful instruments ready at their command. How much more should we admire their achievements, and how much more should we try to make the most of our opportunities. Learning in such a centre as this, with such instruments at command, provides a strong anchorage which should be invaluable to the future life and avocation of the student.

In declaring the library open, Mrs. Edward Cadbury said that her husband and herself had great pleasure in giving the library to the colleges, and it was their earnest hope that all who studied there might acquire a deeper reverence and a fuller life.

The building is a two-story structure, and contains on the ground floor a main reading-room with central tables for readers and deep bays with bookshelves arranged along two sides. At the entrance are situated the librarian's room and general offices, whilst at the rear are the manuscript rooms and strong-room. On the upper floor, the side bays to the main reading room are repeated as a gallery and form study alcoves. The accommodation is for forty readers, and approximately 50,000 volumes.

Here it is that Dr. Mingana, surrounded by the great collection of Oriental manuscripts, which he himself, often at great personal risk, gathered together in the East, will continue and develop the researches which for so many years he carried on in the John Rylands Library.

Reference has already been made to the grievous loss which Manchester has sustained through the death of Mr. C. P. Scott and his son Mr. E. T. Scott, but we feel that we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without offering our own grateful tribute to their memory, for during the thirty-two years which have elapsed since the inauguration of this Library, they have, each in turn, rendered incalculable service to it by their consistent and encouraging appreciation of its work in the columns of their great newspaper.

TWO
GREAT
EDITORS.

Since the publication of our last issue in the closing days of last December, these two great editors of the "Manchester Guardian" have passed away, the one quietly at the close of a life filled full of noble service and influence, the other with tragic suddenness, whilst in the prime of life, as the result of the capsizing of a boat.

It was shortly after midnight on the 1st of January that Charles Prestwick Scott breathed his last breath, at the age of 85 years, having been editor of the "Manchester Guardian" for 57 years.

Probably no editor has received greater tribute from his contemporaries, political and journalistic, friends and foes alike, than Mr. C. P. Scott, who was described by one writer in the "Observer" as the greatest editor who ever lived. He built the prestige of his paper to such an extent, and in such a way, that its reputation did not suffer even though it opposed popular movements. It fought consistently against the Boer War, and at one time police protection had to be given both to the offices and to Mr. Scott personally, but in the end his attitude was abundantly justified. During recent years, while Lancashire, the traditional centre of Free Trade, has been gradually moving towards a Protectionist policy, Scott and the "Manchester Guardian" remained irreconcilable supporters of Free Trade, and time alone will prove the wisdom and foresight of the attitude so consistently advocated and followed.

We recall a passage in the "Manchester Guardian," in which Mr. Scott is summed up as journalist and editor, wherein it is stated that : "Scott had the prime requisites of a true journalist as distinct from a politician or trader who uses a newspaper mainly as a hoarding, or mainly as a means of wealth. He believed with all his heart that, to be worth bringing out, a daily newspaper must be, all round, an instrument of civilization."

Scott was representative of a generation of editors fast dying out, who maintain steadfastly the independence of the press, and who can, as Lord Robert Cecil once said of him, "make righteousness readable."

Upon Mr. C. P. Scott's retirement from the active editorship of the paper, in the summer of 1929, he was succeeded by his youngest son, Edward Taylor Scott, who very soon proved how capable he was, not only to continue the tradition his father had so magnificently created, but also to add to it, and to develop it in his own way.

Mr. E. T. Scott was educated at Rugby, Corpus Christi College,

Oxford, and the London School of Economics, where he acquitted himself with distinction. He served for a time as private secretary and A.D.C. to Lord Olivier when he was Governor of Jamaica, and later worked in the City Offices of the "Glasgow Herald," and the "Daily News." There were some four years of war service, and in the big German offensive of March, 1918, he was taken prisoner and held until the end of the war. He first joined the staff of the "Manchester Guardian" in 1912, and was chief leader writer during the three years before he succeeded his father as editor.

In the "Manchester Guardian" one who knew him well wrote of him in terms of affection as: "a man among the most charming who ever lived. He was one of those to whom one is constantly finding new depths and new qualities. He did not reveal himself easily. He was shy, diffident, and reserved, but those who were privileged to get beneath the reserve found a character that was at once simple and strong, gentle and shrewd—incapable by its very nature of insincerity or self-deception."

The same writer continues: "Mr. Scott would obviously have made a career in any service that he entered, but his father wanted him on the newspaper to which he had devoted his life, wanted him because he was his son, and because he knew his worth. It is not an easy thing to serve under one's father in any circumstances, and when the father is a great dynamic personality it is all the harder. It was part of C. P. Scott's genius to get the best out of people, and he got the best out of his son—it was a fine best."

He was an excellent journalist and a shrewd student of politics. His judgments were always balanced, but inspired by a strong sense of what was just and right. He was responsible for the policy of the paper in a difficult time, and, not allowing his principles to be obscured by immediate excitements, he initiated and sustained a policy which subsequent events have amply vindicated.

His death took place with tragic suddenness on Friday the 22nd of April, while sailing on Lake Windermere with his eldest son Richard, through the capsizing of their boat. The son succeeded in scrambling on to the bottom of the upturned boat and was rescued later, but his father, who started to swim to the bank to summon help, sank when he had covered only half the distance.

Our deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. Scott and to the other

members of the Scott family in their sore bereavement, but also to the members of the staff of the paper whose privilege it had been to work under Mr. Scott's guidance.

We are glad to learn that Mr. W. P. Crozier, who for some years has been the assistant editor of the "Manchester Guardian," has been appointed editor, in succession to Mr. E. T. Scott.

MR.
SCOTT'S
SUC-
CESSOR.

Mr. Crozier was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and Trinity College, Oxford, where he obtained a First Class both in Honour Moderations and in the Final Honours School of Literæ Humaniores. After a year spent as a schoolmaster, he joined the "Manchester Guardian" in 1903, since when he has been news editor, leader writer, assistant editor, and, since 1921, a director of the company. He was for some time editor of the "Manchester Guardian History of the War," and in 1929 published "Letters of Pontius Pilate." Mr. Crozier may be relied upon to maintain the high tradition and prestige set up by his distinguished predecessors in the editorial chair.

"The Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library," which Dr. T. Fish has had in preparation for several years, has now made its appearance in print, and is published for the Governors of the Library by the Manchester University Press, in an imperial octavo volume (pp. xiv, 160), in cloth binding, price seven shillings and sixpence net (postage 6d.). Copies may be obtained from the Press or on application to the Librarian.

SUMERIAN
TABLETS
IN THE
J.R.L.

The collection of tablets dealt with has been gradually accumulated over a period of twenty years. The nucleus was formed, with the assistance of the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, by the late Professor H. W. Hogg, who between the years 1903 and 1912 was Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature, including Assyriology, in the University of Manchester. This initial group was added to from time to time, as the opportunity occurred; but the larger part of the collection, consisting of some 600 examples, was acquired for private study by the Reverend A. L. Bedale, one of Professor Hogg's pupils, who succeeded him as University Lecturer in Assyriology, and at his death in 1919 they were presented to the Library by Mrs. Bedale, in memory of her husband.

The tablets are written in the Sumerian language, and consist for the most part of records of transactions connected with the great temples of Drehem and Umma. The Sumerian temples were organized very much as were the monasteries and religious houses of the middle ages. They had large estates, which they managed for themselves, and from which, as well as from the gifts and tributes of the faithful, they derived large revenues, mostly in natural products, such as grain, sheep and oxen. Attached to the temples were a number of priests and officials of various kinds, as well as dependents such as slaves, shepherds, and husbandmen, who lived at the expense of the temple. The stewards who furnished the food and other allowances to those who had a claim on the temple, were required to keep accounts of what they received and disbursed, and it was their custom to write down a record of each transaction, such as those found on the tablets here dealt with. These records were periodically entered up on large tablets, which may be regarded as ledgers, showing receipts and expenditure for months together. One such ledger is in the possession of the Library, and is reproduced to form a frontispiece to the catalogue.

Dr. Fish, who has succeeded to the lectureship in Assyriology at the University of Manchester, which had remained vacant since Mr. Bedale's death in 1919, has rendered conspicuous service to the Governors in so generously placing at their disposal his wide knowledge of the progress which has been made during the last few years in this field of research, with the object of making the resources of the Library better known.

The volume contains forty-eight plates of facsimiles of hand-made copies of the most important of the tablets, which are the work of Dr. Fish, together with transliterations of the whole collection.

The publication of "The Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets" is to be followed up by a series of BULLETIN articles, in which Dr. Fish will deal, in chronological order, with the non-Sumerian cuneiform material to be found in the Rylands Library.

LETTERS
OF THE
FIRST
BABYLON-
IAN DYN-
ASTY.

This material includes a small group of forty tablets consisting of letters of the First Babylon Dynasty, dating from about 2100 B.C., and consequently belonging to the "Golden Age of Hammurabi."

The letters which have come down to us from that period may be divided into two categories : "royal" and "private." The Rylands group belong to the second category, and consist of letters which have passed between private individuals, or between a private individual and a government official. They are of the first importance for the history of this period and their publication is eagerly awaited by scholars.

In the present issue Dr. Fish deals with the first instalment of this group. He has furnished not only hand-made copies of the tablets, which have been reproduced in facsimile, but transliterations of the cuneiform text accompanied by English translations.

The remainder of the letters of this group will be dealt with in the January (1933) issue.

In succeeding issues of the BULLETIN, commencing with July, 1933, Dr. Fish has undertaken to contribute a series of articles, in which he will deal with the life and times of the Sumerians of the Third Ur Dynasty on the basis of the Rylands collection of tablets, with help from the enormous amount of material already published elsewhere, and from a large quantity of unpublished material which he himself has transcribed at the British Museum and Harvard University. Dr. Fish proposes to study the economic, agricultural, political, and religious life of this remarkable race of people, who not only attained a much higher state of perfection in agriculture than any other nation of the ancient world, but developed a civilization and a culture, the influence of which on succeeding races and on the modern world it is difficult to estimate.

SUMERIANS
OF THE
THIRD UR
DYNASTY.

In this way Dr. Fish will be filling a large gap in our knowledge of the highly organized activity which obtained in the land of Sumer three hundred years before the time of Abraham.

Students of Shakespearean literature will be interested to learn that it has been decided to reproduce in collotype facsimile the pamphlet entitled : "Ratsey's Ghost, or the Second Part of his madde Prankes and Robberies." (Printed by V.S. [*i.e.* V. Sims] and are to be sold by John Hodgets in Paules Churchyard [1605].)

RATSEY'S
GHOST.

This pamphlet, of which the only known copy is in the Rylands

Library, is of literary as well as of bibliographical interest. The highwayman Gamaliel Ratsey was notorious in the eastern counties from 1603 to 1605, in which year he was hanged at Bedford. An account of his "Life and Death" exists in another unique pamphlet in the Bodleian Library, to which the Rylands pamphlet is a sequel, and gives a further instalment of his adventures, largely imaginary. In it we read how on one occasion, after fleecing a company of travelling players, he advised the leader to go to London, where his talents would be more profitable, and where he might rival a great actor (probably Burbage) in the part of Hamlet. Ratsey concludes his advice with what seems to be a sarcastic reflection on Shakespeare, who had bought New Place, at Stratford, out of his professional earnings some years earlier: "When thou feelest thy purse well lined buy thee some place or Lordship in the Country, that, growing weary of playing, thy mony may there bring thee to dignitie and reputation."

The volume will form one of the series of "John Rylands Facsimiles," and will be furnished with an introduction by H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. It will be published for the Governors of the Library by the Manchester University Press, in an appropriate binding, at the price of six shillings net.

The small collection of hitherto unpublished letters of Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale in the possession of the Rylands Library, which were published with notes and commentary by Mr. J. D. Wright in the last issue of the BULLETIN, have been reprinted with considerable additions and corrections in a separate form, which may be obtained from the Manchester University Press, or from the Librarian, price two shillings net.

Mr. M. Zamick's edition of the "Three Dialogues on the Death of Hester Lynch Thrale, written in August, 1779," printed from the manuscript in Mrs. Thrale's handwriting, now preserved in the John Rylands Library, and hitherto unpublished and unrecorded, which was published for the first time in the last issue of the BULLETIN, has been reprinted in separate form and may be obtained through the usual channels of supply, price eighteenpence net.

DOCTOR
JOHNSON
LETTERS.

MRS.
THRALE'S
DIA-
LOGUES.

Another article, by Mr. W. W. Roberts, which also made its first appearance in the last issue of the BULLETIN, and makes a considerable contribution to our knowledge of the relations of the Burney family with Mrs. Thrale, has also been reprinted in a separate form, and may be obtained through the usual channels of supply, price eighteenpence net. Mr. Roberts quotes many passages from hitherto undiscovered letters from Charles and Fanny Burney, and from Fanny Burney's "blue-stocking" niece, Marianne Francis, to Mrs. Piozzi, which are now fortunately in the safe custody of the John Rylands Library.

The Mediæval Academy of America has deposited in six large libraries in the United States and in Europe, a pamphlet, reproduced by planograph from typewritten copy, containing selections from the first part of the Italian Series of the "Glossary of Mediæval Terms of Business," which the Academy has in preparation.

THE BUR-
NEYS AND
MRS.
THRALE.

GLOSSARY
OF MEDI-
ÆVAL BUSI-
NESS
TERMS.

One copy has been deposited in this Library as a matter of record, since the publication of these selections is a preliminary to later publication in more permanent form.

One of the objects of this glossary is to assist in satisfying the growing desire for details of administration in economic, political, and other affairs. This interest in business history may help us to find some of the realities of life and the bases of cultural relationships not formerly understood.

To quote again from the preface to this pamphlet: Mediæval business records have survived here and there; apparently there are very few in England, but there are somewhat more in Italy. These documents are easy to skim through, if we wish merely to extract bits of information here and there. The fuller understanding of the transactions involved, however, is difficult. The most satisfactory approach to the problem at hand seems to be the study of individual terms used in the various documents available, both printed and unprinted.

The plan for accomplishing this purpose is to enlist the aid of competent scholars at home and abroad in compiling a number of glossaries, to be issued in instalments as they are ready, and it is to that end that the Glossary here referred to has been deposited with us.

Business history, the director points out, is not itself the goal, but the means to a better understanding of general and social and cultural history.

The following is a preliminary list of public lectures (the thirty-first series), which have been arranged for the forthcoming session, 1932-1933 :—

LIBRARY
LECTURES

Wednesday, 12th October, 1932. "Midsummer Night's Dream." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1932. "The Mind of Paul: a psychological approach." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th December, 1932. "Orpheus." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott. on Univ., F.B.A., Professor Emeritus of the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th January, 1933. "Racial Distribution in the Light of Archæology" (with lantern illustrations). By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th February, 1933. "Florida Verborum Venustas: Euphuism in the early Fifteenth Century in England." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1933. "The Meaning of Value." By Samuel Alexander, O.M., Litt.D., F.B.A., etc., Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 22nd March, 1933. The session will be concluded with an address, the title of which will be announced later, by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

In the present issue will be found a complete list of the periodical publications, including the transactions of learned societies, which are regularly received by the Library, the current issues of which are displayed in the periodical room. The list shows the range of the Library set, and it will be noticed that, with a few exceptions, the sets are complete from the beginning of the career of the respective publications. The list also

PERIODI-
CAL PUBLI-
CATIONS
IN THE
J.R.L.

includes a number of sets of similar publications which have ceased to appear. These are marked with an asterisk "*". The presence of a dagger "†" implies that the Library set does not extend beyond the year shown.

The Eleventh Conference of the Internationales Institut für Dokumentation will be held at Frankfurt-am-Main from the 30th August to the 3rd September. The Secretary is Dr. Walter Schürmeyer, Direktor der Bibliothek für Kunst und Technik, Frankfurt-am-Main, Neue Mainzerstrasse 47, to whom all requests for information should be addressed.

INTERNA-
TIONALES
INSTITUT
FÜR DOKU-
MENTA-
TION.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been added to the shelves of the Library during the six months which have elapsed since the publication of our last issue, and serve to indicate the character of the additions which are constantly being made to the several departments of literature which form the equipment of the Library :—

ACCES-
SIONS TO
THE
LIBRARY.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : "ARS ASIATICA, vol. 17 : Les Bronzes du Luristan, par A Godard," 4to ; FISCHER (Carlos), "Les costumes de l'Opéra," 4to ; HADDON (A. C.), "Evolution in art as illustrated by the life-histories of designs," (1895), 8vo ; HARTLEY (D.), "Mediæval costume and life," 8vo ; JOHNSON (Charles), "English painting from the seventh century to the present day," 8vo ; LOEWY (E.), "Zur Chronologie der frühgriechischen Kunst : die Artemistempel von Ephesos," 8vo ; "MOHENJO-DARO and the Indus civilization : being an official account of archæological excavations at Mohenjo-Daro carried out by the Government of India between 1922 and 1927, edited by Sir John Marshall," 3 vols, 4to ; RIEFSTAHL (R. M.), "Turkish architecture in South-Western Anatolia," 4to ; SLEIGH (B.), "Wood engraving since eighteen-ninety, with 80 illus.," 4to ; WHITAKER-WILSON (C), "Sir Christopher Wren, his life and times," 8vo ; VENTURI (A.), "Storia dell' arte Italiana, tom. 9 : La pittura del cinquecento," 8vo ; VIOUET-LE-DUC (E.), "Habitations modernes" (1874), 2 vols., Folio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : "BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ANNALES INSTITUTORUM, vol. 1 : Guide Manuel des bibliothèques de Rome,

publié par l'Institut Historique Néerlandais," 4to ; BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, "Catalogue général des livres imprimés, tomes 105-112 (Mand.-Merly)," 8 vols., 8vo ; BORCHLING (C.) and CLAUSSEN (B.), "Niederdeutsche Bibliographie . . . bis zum Jahre 1800, Lief. 4 : 1519-1526," 8vo ; BRITISH MUSEUM, "Catalogue of printed books, new edition," vol. 3 (Alev-Amer), 4to ; COMIN (J. R.), Bibliografia de la lengua Valenciana, tome 2 : siglo 16," 8vo ; DANCHIN (F.), "Les imprimés Lillois : répertoire bibliographique de 1594-1915," tomes 2-3 (Lille-Raoust), 8vo ; MAZZATINTI (G.) and SOBRELLI (A.), "Inventari dei MSS. delle biblioteche d'Italia," vol. 48 (Pesaro), 8vo ; MORISON (S.), "German Incunabula in the British Museum : 152 facsimiles," Folio.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ABRAHAMS (I.), "Jewish life in the middle ages, revised and enlarged on the basis of the author's material by C. Roth," 8vo ; "ANALECTA HIBERNICA, including the reports of the Irish Manuscripts Commission," 3 parts, 8vo ; ANDREWS (C. M.), "Essays in colonial history presented to Professor Andrews by his students," 8vo ; AVENEL (G.), "Histoire économique de la propriété, des salaires des denrées et de tous les prix en général depuis l'an 1200 jusqu'en 1800," 6 vols., 8vo ; BAKER (J. N. L.), "A history of geographical discovery and exploration," 8vo ; BAKER (R. S.), "Woodrow Wilson : Life and letters : 1910-1914," 2 vols., 8vo ; BALDWIN (A. M.), "The New England clergy and American revolution : a study of ecclesiastical thought and practice in its relation to political theory and action in the New England of revolutionary times," 8vo ; "BEDFORDSHIRE Parish Registers, edited by F. G. Emmison, vol. 3 : Woburn, 1558-1812," Folio ; BELLOC (H.), "A history of England, vol. 4 : 1526-1612," 8vo ; BERTRAND (P.), "Histoire des Chevaliers-Hospitaliers de Saint Lazare," 8vo ; BOCA (J.), "La justice criminelle de l'échevinage d'Abbeville au moyen age 1184-1516," 8vo ; BOLITHO (H.), "Albert the Good : a life of Prince Consort," 8vo ; BOWYER (R.), "The parliamentary diary of Robert Bowyer, 1606-1607, edited by D. H. Wilson," 8vo ; BRADLEY (A. G.), "The United Empire Loyalists : founders of British Canada," 8vo ; BRADY (A.), "Canada," 8vo ; BRAYSHAW (T.) and ROBINSON (R. M.), "A history of the ancient parish of Giggleswick," 4to ; "BRITISH DOCUMENTS of the origins of the war, 1908-1914,

vol. 7 : the Agadir Crisis," 8vo ; BURDON (Sir J. A.), "Archives of British Honduras, vol. 1," 8vo ; BURN (A. R.), "The Romans in Britain : an anthology of inscriptions, with translations and a running commentary," 8vo ; CARY (M.), "A history of the Greek world, 323-146 B.C.," 8vo ; CAMBRIDGE, "Cambridge Borough documents, vol. 1, edited by D. M. Palmer," 8vo ; CATHERINE THE GREAT, "Documents : the correspondence with Voltaire and the instruction of 1767 in the English text of 1768, edited with introduction by W. F. Reddaway," 8vo ; CECIL (Lady Gwendoline), "Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury," 4 vols., 8vo ; CONWAY (Agnes), "Henry VII's relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485-1498, with a chapter on the Acts of the Poynings Parliament, 1494-1495, by E. Curtius," 8vo ; CHAMPION (I. F.), "Across New Guinea from the Fly to the Sepik," 8vo ; "CHRONIKEN der deutschen Städte . . . Band 36 : Lüneberg," 8vo ; COLE (Wm.), "The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. Wm. Cole, 1765-67, edited from the original MS. in the Brit. Mus. by F. G. Stokes," 8vo ; CORNELIUS (F.), "Cannae das militärische und das literarische Problem," 8vo ; CROCE (Benedetto), "Storia di Europa nel secolo decimo-nono," 8vo ; DELACHENTAL (R.), "Historia de Charles V, tome 5 (1377-1380)," 8vo ; DELCOURT (R.), "Le vengeance de la Commune : L'arsin et l'abbatis de maison en Flandre et en Hainault," 8vo ; "DICTIONARY of American Biography, vol. 8 : Grinnell-Hibbard," 8vo ; DONNCHADA (Thadic O'), "Leabhar Cloinne Avdha Buidhe : the Book of Clandeboy," 8vo ; EBELING (E.) and MEISSNER (B.), "Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Band 1," 8vo ; ERLANGER (P.), "Marguerite d'Anjou, Reine d'Angleterre," 8vo ; ESPINAS (G.), "Une guerre sociale interurbaine dans la Flandre Wallonne au 13^e siècle," 8vo ; ESPINAS (G.), "Documents relatifs à la draperie de Valenciennes au moyen age," 8vo ; GENEVA, "Registres du Conseil de Genève, tome 2 : 1528-1531," 8vo ; GOODFELLOW (D. M.), "An economic history of South Africa," 8vo ; GROTIUS SOCIETY, "Transactions, vol. 17 : Problems of peace and war," 8vo ; GWYNNE (S.), "The life of Horace Walpole," 8vo ; HANOTAUX (G.) and others, "Histoire des colonies françaises, tome 4 : Afrique occidentale, équatoriale, etc.," 4to ; HICKS-BEACH (Lady Victoria), "Life of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (Earl St. Aldwyn)," 2 vols., 8vo ; HOFMEYER (J. H.), "South Africa," 8vo ;

HOLMES (T. Rice), "The architect of the Roman Empire, 27 B.C.-A.D. 14," 8vo ; HUBERT (H.), "Les Celtes et l'expansion celtiques jusqu'à l'époque de la Tèhe," 8vo ; INNES (A. D.), "The maritime and colonial expansion of England under the Stuarts : 1603-1714," 8vo ; JACKS (L. V.), "La Salle (Jean Cavelier)," 8vo ; JAPIKSE (N.), "Correspondentie van Willem 3 en van Hans Willem Bantinck," 8vo ; KNOLL (K.), "London im Mittelalter : seine wirtschaftliche, politische, und kulturelle Bedeutung für das Britische Volk," 8vo ; LE COEUR (Ch.), "Le culte de la génération et l'évolution religieuse et sociale en Guinée," 8vo ; LENOTRE (G.), "Les derniers terroristes," 8vo ; LONGAKER (Mark), "English biography in the 18th century," 8vo ; MACBRAY (Robert), "Poland, 1914-1931," 8vo ; MCKISACK (M.), "The parliamentary representation of the English boroughs during the middle ages," 8vo ; MALO (H.), "Thiers, 1797-1877," 8vo ; MARRIOTT (Sir J. A. R.), "The makers of modern Italy : Napoleon-Mussolini," 8vo ; MARVIN (F. S.), "The new world order (Unity Series, 9)," 8vo ; MAYNARD (L.), "Dictionnaire des Lyonnaises, tomes 2-3 : Charlemagne-Robert," 2 vols, 8vo ; MAXWELL (Sir Herbert), "The place names of Galloway," 8vo ; MESTON (Lord), "Nationhood for India," 8vo ; MORTON (J. B.), "Sobieski," 8vo ; MOWAT (R. B.), "The States of Europe, 1815-1871 : a study of their domestic development," 8vo ; MURATORI (L. A.), "Raccolta degli storici Italiani, fascs. 245-249," Folio ; NABER (J. W. A.), "Correspondentie van der Stadhouderlijkefamilie 1777-1795," 2 vols., 8vo ; NAMIER (L. B.), "The structure of politics at the Accession of George III," 2 vols., 8vo ; NITOBÉ (I.), "Japan (the Modern World)," 8vo ; NOYES (E.), "The story of Milan (Mediæval Towns)," 8vo ; NULLE (S. H.), "Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle : his early political career 1693-1714," 8vo ; OKEY (T.), "The story of Avignon (Mediæval Towns)," 8vo ; OSWALD (F.), "Index of potters' stamps on Terra-Sigillata (Samian ware)," Folio ; PARRY (V. E.), "The Lakhers, with an introduction and supplementary notes by J. A. Hutton," 8vo ; PHILBY (H. St. J. B.), "Arabia (the Modern World)," 8vo ; POUX (J.), "La cité de Carcassonne : histoire et description : l'épanouissement (1067-1466)," 2 vols., 4to ; POWICKE (F. M.), "Medieval England, 1066-1485," 8vo ; PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, "Lists and Indexes 53 : an alphabetical guide to certain war office and other

military records," Folio ; QUARITCH-WALES (H. G.), "Siamese state ceremonies : their history and function," 8vo ; RANDALL-MACIVER (D.), "Greek cities in Italy and Sicily," 8vo ; REICKE (S.), "Das deutsche Spital und sein Recht im Mittelalter," 8vo ; "REVALUATIONS : Studies in biography by various authors," 8vo ; RIDGWAY (Sir Wm.), "The early age of Greece, vol. 2, (with an introduction by A. J. B. Wace)," 8vo ; RONNEBERGER (W.), "Das Zisterzienser-Nonnen-kloster zum Heiligen Kreuz bei Saalberg a. d. Saale," 8vo ; SAINSBURY (E. B.), "A calendar of the court minutes of the East India Company, 1671-1673," 8vo ; SAUNDERS (A. C.), "Jersey in the 17th century," 8vo ; SCHAPIRO (J. S.), "Modern and contemporary European history, 1815-1928," 8vo ; "SENCNAS MAR (Old Irish Law-texts), Facsimile of the oldest fragments in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with introduction by R. J. Best and R. Thurneysen," Folio ; SHOWERMAN (G.), "Rome and the Romans : a survey and interpretation," 8vo ; STENTON (F. M.), "The first century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166 (The Ford Lectures, 1929)," 8vo ; STOMBERG (A.), "A history of Sweden," 8vo ; STUART (D. R.), "Epochs of Greek and Roman biography," 8vo ; THOMAS (Bertram), "Arabia Felix : across the empty quarter of Arabia," 8vo ; THOMPSON (M. A.), "The secretaries of state, 1681-1782," 8vo ; TREVELYAN (G. M.), "Sir George Otto Trevelyan : a memoir," 8vo ; VARLEY (F. J.), "The Siege of Oxford : an account of Oxford during the Civil War, 1642-1646," 8vo ; VICTORIA (Queen), "The Letters of Queen Victoria, edited by G. E. Buckle, Third series," 3 vols., 8vo ; WEBB (C. C. J.), "John of Salisbury," 8vo ; YOUNG (Norman), "George Washington," 8vo ; YUSUF ALI (A.), "Medieval India : social and economic conditions . . . the substance of four lectures in Urdu . . . at Allahabad," 8vo.

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THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.¹

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MANCHESTER.

I HAVE put myself down to talk to you to-night on *The Taming of the Shrew*. It is the third of Shakespeare's early comedies which I have been privileged to make the subject of a Rylands lecture. For this occasion, therefore, I have presumed to take liberties with the advertised topic. Instead of presenting to you a general view of all the more important critical questions which emerge from *The Taming of the Shrew*, I have sought to use the play only as a further development of the argument I tried to lay down in my previous lectures to you, to make my treatment of it, if the arrogance of the claim be overlooked, the third chapter in a study of the evolution of Shakespearean comedy. Hence I have jettisoned much which the fashion of current Shakespearean scholarship makes most interesting in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and have, for instance, allowed myself no concern with the textual problems which are raised by the play. I mention this in particular, because, although my argument will require me to make use of another play of shrew-taming, *The Taming of A Shrew* as well as of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, I shall entirely omit any consideration of their textual relationship, occupying myself exclusively with the way they stand to each other in the idea of comedy. Fortunately, the proposition I shall put forward does not appear to depend at all on whether one accepts the modern view (and I confess myself unpersuaded) that *A Shrew* is a textual adaptation of Shakespeare's play, or whether one retains the older opinion that *A Shrew* is an older play which Shakespeare used as a source for *The Shrew*. And if in phrase I may seem to assume a historical

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 14th October, 1931.

priority for *A Shrew*, I trust that such an assumption has been without influence in my general argument. Similarly I have assumed that *The Taming of the Shrew* is Shakespeare's play; and though for my own part I am disposed to lament the concessions which such a stalwart as Sir E. K. Chambers has made to the disintegrators of Shakespeare, again I am not aware that my faith in it as a play by Shakespeare has any essential bearing on my handling of it for the present purpose.

That purpose, briefly, is to consider what light is thrown by the *Shrew* play on the growth of Elizabethan comedy, and in particular to see how far it carries Shakespeare towards the idea of comedy which he realised most triumphantly with such of his maturest achievements in comedy as *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, and *Much Ado*. Though there is ample justification for our continuing to label as romantic comedies these consummate embodiments of the Shakespearean comic spirit, the romanticism in them has been submitted to a severe discipline since it wrought such dramatic havoc as we found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: it has indeed made its submission to that tradition which ancient Roman dramatists passed on to modern Europe, but it has secured such concessions in the settlement as amply satisfy its own romantic intuition. England and Shakespeare obtained the best terms possible in this compromise between Renaissance romance and the enduring classical realism which still persists through and informs the comedy of twentieth-century Europe. England drove the hardest bargain: but other European countries were consciously or unconsciously affecting in their own comedies the compromise between romanticism as they felt it in their own time and the dominant classicism or the enduring realism embodied in comedy as it had come to them. The history of sixteenth-century comedy in Europe is a record of the encroachment of romance on the ancient domain of comedy. But the invasion is almost entirely the result of circumstance, and hardly at all the consequence of deliberate attack. The gap between Plautus and *Twelfth Night* seems at first an unbridgeable chasm severing irreconcilable opposites. But, in fact, the way from one to the other was solidly laid by dramatists who never realised how far circumstances were leading them from the beaten track. When Bibbiena in his *Calandria* (1513), whilst modern comedy was in its swaddling clouts, seized on the Plautine motive of lost twins, he took

the first decisive step towards Shakespeare by making a boy and a girl twin out of Plautus's boy twins.

This may sound like a cryptic or a paradoxical remark, or even a ludicrous proposition, in view of the palpable differences between the comedy of Shakespeare and that of Plautus. In spirit, the Latin type is realistic, satiric, earthy ; Shakespeare's, poetic, sentimental, romantic. Plautus is full of sex ; Shakespeare is all for love. Plautus weaves plots of cunning intrigue ; Shakespeare chooses simple tales of wooers and their wooing, "it was a lover and his lass." In the people of their plays there is striking difference in the types characteristic of the one and of the other, and an equally marked difference in the characteristic importance assumed by corresponding figures in the two sorts of play. With Plautus, it is the old men and the rascally men-servants who come first to mind : then the young sparks lusting for illicit liaisons or trafficking without delicacy for possession of attractive concubines ; and the girls they pursue flit across the scene, mere accessories to the plot, permitted to make our personal acquaintance only in direct proportion with the extent of their alleged impropriety. In Shakespeare all is different. Old men withdraw to the wings. Cunning servants, deprived by his plots of extensive opportunity to acquire skill in scheming, survive mainly as natural clowns. It is the young folk who occupy the centre of his stage, and the hero, gaining grace in the mysteries of wooing, discards many of the traits of his Plautine ancestor, and replaces them by the finer susceptibilities of feeling, the nobility of mind, and the sweetness of soul which more closely reflect the romantic ideal of manhood. An even greater change is suffered by the girls of the older tradition. They are transmuted both in quality and in significance. They are promoted from supernumerary parts to play the all-important rôle,—the heroine, in the technical sense, now first emerges. Moreover, that she may worthily acquit herself in her new office, she is gradually taking on a personality for which the whole of ancient comedy had no proximate parallel. The clue to the history of sixteenth-century comedy is to watch for this heroine's appearance in its drama, to follow her through the century, noticing how she increases her sway over the plays in which she appears, and how, as time goes on, she acquires those qualities of hand, of heart, and of head which are at length to be most magisterially embodied in a *Rosalind*, a *Beatrice*, or a *Viola*. For then the

heroine has in fact become the very incarnation of the spirit of Shakespeare's Comedy.

This is the process by which Elizabethan comedy evolved. In manner, it was largely unconscious, but in determining its direction, the part played by the comic dramatists of Italy has hardly received adequate notice. However, *The Taming of the Shrew* directly prompts an attempt to estimate Italy's share in the formation of a type of comedy like the romantic variety which our Elizabethans made peculiarly their own. The sub-plot of *The Shrew* is one of the few English plots immediately traceable to a sixteenth-century Italian comedy. The Bianca episodes in *The Taming* are taken over either straight from Ariosto's *Suppositi* (1509) or from Gascoigne's English version *The Supposes* (1573-75).

At the outset, however, it is well to remember that no Englishman reading *The Taming of the Shrew* would at first incline to think of it as having any conceivable bearing on the development of any kind of comedy which could be called romantic. Its prevailing temper is so rollickingly anti-romantic that one may well take it as Shakespeare's boisterous revenge on the romantic spirit which had led him the terrible dance he had trod in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. One might indeed be persuaded to regard *The Shrew* as Shakespeare's antidote to his *Two Gentlemen*. Valentine in the latter avows his capacity to dine, sup, and sleep upon the very naked name of love. But in *The Shrew*, such ambrosial menus are unknown. From beginning to end there is a hearty appetite for bread, beef, and beer. Sly knows by instinct that a pot of even the smallest ale is no inconsiderable item of well-being ; stone jugs and duly sealed quarts are the palpable pillars of his universe. Petruchio, too, has a native intuition of the stomach's sway, and a sure sense of its strategic uses ; he deploys adroitly the promise of good eating and drinking. But most marked of all is Gremio's instinct for gastronomical realities. He is the forlorn suitor, rejected by his lady and mocked by his rivals. But his broken heart is amenable to culinary recipes ; and we take leave of him at the end of *The Shrew*, reconciled to the loss of a lady by the prospect of a feast, stumping off eagerly, though it be to the wedding breakfast of his fortunate rival.

"My cake is dough ; but I'll in among the rest ;
Out of hope of all but my share of the feast."

Although he is cast for a dotard, Gremio excellently serves our immediate purpose. For he belongs, not to the story of Katherine's violently unromantic taming, but to the germinally romantic story of the wooing of Katherine's sister, Bianca. It is this wooing which forms the sub-plot of the Shakespearean play ; and it is this which Shakespeare took from Italy. This is the part of *The Taming of the Shrew* which links it most closely to the development of sixteenth-century comedy in Europe.

There are in English three dramatic handlings of this tale. There is Gascoigne's translation of Ariosto's *Suppositi* in which it is the main and only plot. There is *The Taming of A Shrew*, in which it is substantially the main plot, bulkier than the other set side by side with it, the plot of the taming of her ladyship's sister. And there is Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, in which the wooing of the Shrew's sister is a sub-plot, of which the subsidiary nature is more evident in its quality and its function than in its bulk, for although it suffers little diminution in length as compared with its size in *A Shrew* it is markedly subdued to the temper of the main taming plot. Between them, these versions offer a unique illustration of the progress of sixteenth-century comedy and of the circumstances most vitally effecting that progress.

Of the first of these plays, *The Supposes*, these are, so to speak, four texts. Ariosto wrote it first in prose, calling it *Gli Soppositi*, and in that form it was acted in 1509. Later he rewrote it in verse, this time under the title *I Suppositi*. Gascoigne, knowing and using both the verse and prose versions of the original, made his translation, *The Supposes*, which was acted in 1566, published pseudo-surreptitiously in 1572 or '73, and this text, "corrected, perfected, and augmented by the Authour," was issued again in *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, 1575. We need not, however, concern ourselves with these bibliographical differences. For our purpose, the four versions are one play, and that one play will adequately illustrate the circumstances in which Renaissance comedy was born.

Ariosto's *Supposes* is primarily a play of masquerading, the plot turning on a scheme of disguise to bring about mistakes in identity, whereby a young man may secure access to his mistress. The young man changes place and clothes with his own servant ; then hires himself as a servant into the household of his mistress's father. When

the play opens, this liaison has subsisted in secret for a considerable time. But it is now threatened with exposure; an elderly and wealthy suitor has found favour with the girl's father, and the plan for playing against him another pretended suitor (in reality the young man's disguised servant) is becoming more difficult to maintain, for the father of the young man himself is shortly due to arrive. Here clearly is much Plautine and Terentian matter: "vi confessa," wrote Ariosto in his *Prologue*, "vi confessa l'autore havere in questo et Plauto et Terentio seguitato." The plot is a succession of dilemmas from which only cunning devices and intrigues can rescue the hero. In temper, too, it is sufficiently classical; and though one need not be alarmed to find that its first performance was at the charges of a Cardinal, one is somewhat surprised to learn that a spectator, reporting the performance to a distinguished lady, the Marchioness of Mantua, strongly recommended the play to her as "piena di moralità." For though its dialogue is comparatively inoffensive, the whole situation depends on securing the sympathy of the audience for clandestine lovers whose love has dispensed with the normal sanctions of the moral code.

The Supposes does not, indeed, break very considerably from the Latin comic tradition. But there are features in it which point to the future. It is, for instance, a play of love rather than of sex: the lovers mean honest matrimony and would welcome the ceremony which circumstance forbids. It is, however, not a play of wooing. The young people had lived in irregular union for some time, and in the play itself there is not a single scene in which they are together. Yet there is in the play something of the comedy of wooers; the lady has three wooers,—her unofficial husband, his servant who is pretending to woo, and the third, the traditional elderly lover of the comic stage, deprived, however, of the goatishness, if not of the folly, of that genus. Clearly, modern sentiment has not eaten deeply into Ariosto's play. Even so, it has at least brought about certain changes which are making along the line of the future development of comedy. The germ of romanticism is beginning to leaven the classical tradition. The heroine is not yet installed; but she is beginning to qualify herself for the part: "it pitieth me to see the poore yong woman how she weepes, wailes, and teares hir heare: not esteeming hir owne life halfe so deare as she doth poore Dulipos; and hir father, he weepes

on the other side that it would pearce an hart of stone with pitie" (Act III, sc. v). And she has already earned a public reputation altogether different from the kind which any of Plautus's girls could have claimed or would, indeed, have aspired to: "Aske the neighbours, and you shall heare very good report of hir: marke hir behaviors, and you would have judged hir very maydenly; seldome seene abroad but in place of prayer and there very devout, and no gaser at outwarde sightes, no blaser of hir beautie above in the windowes, no stale at the doore for the bypassers: you would have thought hir a holy yong woman" (Act III, sc. iv). Moreover, though older folks bulk as largely in Ariosto's play as in Latin drama, and often, too, for the same comic purpose, that is, to be gulled in the interests of gaiety, yet one or two of them here have affections and sentiments which anticipate the more benign function to be found for them in future comedies. Naturally one will not expect a Countess Rousillion or a Lafeu; for to no motive did the comic tradition stick more tenaciously than to this of the folly of old fools. But the father of Ariosto's young man shows the metamorphosis beginning. He tells of the plans he had had for his son: "I thinking that by that time he had sene the worlde, he would learne to know himselfe better, exhorted him to studie, and put in his election what place he would go to. At the last he came hither, and I thinke he was scarce here so sone as I felt the want of him, in suche sorte as from that day to this I have passed fewe nightes without teares. I have written to him very often that he shoulde come home. . . . I would not be without the sighte of hym againe so long for all the learning in the worlde. I am olde nowe, and if God shoulde call mee in his absence, I promise you I thinke it woulde drive me into disperation" (Act IV, sc. iv). The young lady's father, too, is different. He is not merely enraged at his daughter's seduction, he is heartbroken by it, in the modern way: "Yea, what should it prevayle me to use all the punishments that can be devised? the thing once done can not be undone. My daughter is defloured, and I utterly dishonest: how can I then wype that blot off my browe? and on whome shall I seeke revenge? alas, alas, I myselfe have bene the cause of all these cares, and have deserved to beare the punishment of all these mishappes. Alas, I should not have committed my dearest darling in custodie to so carelesse a creature as this olde Nurse: for we see by common

prooe that these olde women be either peevishe or pitifull : either easily enclined to evill, or quickly corrupted with bribes and rewards. O wife, my good wife (that nowe lyst colde in the grave), now may I well bewayle the wante of thee, and mourning nowe may I bemone that I misse thee ! If thou hadst liven (suche was thy governement of the least things) that thou wouldest prudently have provided for the preservation of this pearle . . . etc." (Act III, sc. iii). Even the man-servant of *The Supposes*, required by the plot for the Davus-like trick of fooling his old master for the profit of his young one, is given to quite un-Plautine qualms of conscience and sentiment : " Alas, he that of a litle childe hath brought me up unto this day, and nourished me as if I had bene his owne : and in deede (to confesse the trouth) I have no father to trust unto but him " (Act V, sc. i).

Clearly, changed habits of mind and different ideals of conduct are inevitably creeping into sixteenth-century plays ; and though at the outset the traditional classical machinery of the comedies will confine their action to devising assignations, outwitting rivals, and overcoming other material obstacles, they will in time throw off the formal inheritance which denies them opportunities to exhibit the whole ritual of wooing, and to express the spiritual ecstasies of the beloved. So far at least, they are providing the situations which in due course will serve as an essential setting for romance. The process will naturally be gradual and largely unintentional. One can indeed see developments of that kind even within the course of Ariosto's brief career as a comic dramatist ; and the *Scolastica* which he left unfinished might have led him to an even more clearly romanticised completion than the one which was given to it by his son. Here, at all events, love was discovering its own romantic terms, and the heroine was growing in the grace by which she would reach her romantic triumph in the future.

The future clearly was with her. It is doubtless very difficult nowadays for us to realise how serious were the obstacles which stood in the way of woman's power over comedy. We recognise her dominion in Shakespeare's maturest comedies, and take our Rosalinds and our Violas for granted. Sometimes a Beatrice, by the plenitude of her wit, the adroitness of her intellect and her relative independence of what we choose to call the attributes of femininity, leads us to

suggest, half-mazedly, half-apologetically, that Shakespeare's women were made to be played by boys. But such implication of restraint is in part delusory, and in part inadequate. It is a general plea that the girls of Plautus were what they were because no Roman could present a decent girl in the spectacle of public life required by the stage-conventions of his day. Thinking of famous or notorious women of the sixteenth century, Tudors or Borgias or Medicis, Duchesses of Malfi or Moll Cutpurses, knowing, too, of Renaissance ideals in the education of women, one is disposed to assume that sufficient emancipation was a recognised fact of the social system. Yet even in Italy, which was giving Europe the first of its modern women, dramatists were still hampered by the persistence of older taboos both in the traditions of drama and in the conventions of society. The emergence of the heroine was still impeded by the conscious and unconscious habits of the general will. Even as late as the middle of the century, one of the acutest of Italian men of letters, Cinthio, who was critic and dramatist, comedian and tragedian, and whose critical insight had much to do in determining the direction of sixteenth-century tragedy in Italy and thence in Europe, recognised the difficulty and sought a way out of it. In his *Discorso sulle Commedie e sulle Tragedie* (1554) he records that in comedy it is as an article of religion ("serva la comedia una certa religione") that no well-born, well-mannered, and innocent girl shall be allowed to act and speak in the play. He admits that there is ample warrant for the proscription, since in the main comedy traffics with the lasciviousness of disreputable folks—"e però non pare che convenga al decoro di una giovane vergine, venire a favellare in tale scena, e tra queste persone." Even if a particular comedy is without the customary nastiness of matter, the prohibition still holds: "e ancora che la comedia fosse onestissima, come noi veggiamo essere i *Captivi* di Plauto, non vi s'introdurrebbe anco vergine alcuna; perchè è già così impressa negli animi degli uomini che la comedia porti con esso lei questi sorti di genti, e questi modi di favellare, pieni di licenza che ciò non sarebbe senza pregiudizio della polcella." But Cinthio had already urged that tragedies on ancient themes would not strike directly to the hearts of his contemporaries; they must reject ancient mythologies and turn to more vital sources in contemporary love-stories. A critic like this was not likely to accept a perpetual prohibition of romantic tales of lovers from the scope of

contemporary comedy. He had, incidentally, protested against Bibbiena's perpetuation of the ancient Roman trick of making the elderly lover a senile idiot: "dee adunque l'amor del vecchio non esser di mal esempio. E quantunque sìa egli innamorato e cerchi di goder della cosa amata, non gli si debbono però far far quelle sciocchezze per venire al fine del suo amore che fe' fare al suo Calandro il Bibbiena, e hanno dopo lui fatto alcuni altri de' nostri tempi, perchè è fuori di quel che conviene." Naturally, one who had qualms about profaning the display of love even when it was an old man's passion, would eagerly seek for opportunity to exhibit it in its congenial atmosphere, the ideal passion of noble girl. His solution was, in effect, the establishment of tragi-comedy, the acceptance of plays he calls "tragedie di felice fine," "tragedie liete," tragedies with a happy ending. "E non tengo io biasimevole che'n questa specie di tragedie vergine reale sfoghi in iscena da sè (per esser tutta la scena di persone grandi, e per farsi per la maggior parte le cose nella corte) le passioni amorose, dogliendosi o lamentandosi onestamente." Plays of this kind are really Italy's nearest approach to our English romantic comedy: Greene's *James IV. of Scotland* is built on one of Cinthio's own novels, just as Cinthio himself dramatised certain of his own prose tales. In these, the heroine had full dignity of status and the whole armoury of romantic charm. She had, however, paid for her admission to the stage in such dignified company by forswearing the simpler, more natural, more domestic, and even more worldly attributes which are an indispensable part of the power of Shakespeare's heroines in comedy.

Cinthio conferred a stage-right on the romantic heroine, and went some way towards equipping her to exercise it effectively, though, on a mere matter of terminology, he still regarded comedy as outside her liberty. One has therefore to see how she fared in comedy itself. Ariosto's immediate successors, like Bibbiena and Machiavelli, can hardly be said to mark any decisive change. The motive of sex-disguise used by Bibbiena in his *Calandria*, whereby twin brother and sister each dresses in the clothes of the other sex, is not employed by the dramatist to evoke particularly romantic sentiments, though future borrowers of the device found it a prolific source of such congenial material. Bibbiena's hero can pay tribute to the new sense of love—"i compagni d'amore sono ira, odii, inimicizie, discordie, ruine, povertà, suspezione, inquietudine, morbi pernizios

nelli animi de' mortali. . . . Alla potenza sua ogni cosa è soggetta. E non è maggior dolcezza che acquistare quel che si desidera in amore, senza il quale non è cosa alcuna perfetta nè virtuosa nè gentile" (Act I, sc. ii). But the idealism is mainly the matter of a few phrases. The hero is carrying on an intrigue with a married woman, who in her turn can also utter the hallowed phrases, but she is almost Plautine in her plans to make for her own son a marriage which will give her lover ampler opportunity to enjoy her company.

Nor will one expect much concession to romantic sentiment in the comedies of Machiavelli. His merit rests rather in the sting of his satire, and for this he found the older Roman tradition a sufficient comic instrument. But even Machiavelli endeavours to add a kind of moral recommendation to the unmoral figures he takes over from his Latin models. His *Clizia*, for instance, is the *Casina* of Plautus : but the young hero of it is not only given a much more extensive part to play, he is also favoured by a persistent moral justification. In his most effective comedy, *Mandragola*, Machiavelli's story is as salacious as antiquity had demanded. But the lascivious persons in it are not held out for our approval ; their doings are generally the occasion for direct satire. The plot tells how a husband is duped into urging his wife to accept the embraces of a lover ; and it is at least significant of the times that Machiavelli, who could easily have made the wife a conventional consenting party, is at pains to have her trapped into innocent infidelity by the lying injunctions of her confessor.

It is in these ways that the prevailing sentiments and the current ideals of society were gradually creeping into comedy. In the upshot they transformed its governing spirit. Hardly ever are serious changes in Italian comedy consciously instituted. Yet in a generation or so, dramatists saw that the plays they were writing were in a sense new dramatic kinds. A dramatist like Gelli admits in the dedication to his *La Sporta* (1543) that he imitates Plautus as much as is possible ("il quale io ho il più ch'io posso imitato"); he confesses in the Prologue that there is ground for saying "ch'egli ha tolto a Plauto e Terenzio la maggior parte de le cose che ci sono." But he immediately goes on to say that he brings into his play nothing but things which are a common feature of the life of his own time ("non tratta d'altro che di cose che tutto'l giorno accaggiono al viver nostro"). He commends himself especially for omitting such things as the

conventional mistaken identities and the recoveries of long lost children. "Non ci vedrete riconoscimenti di giovani o di fanciulle, che oggidì non occorre." In practice, however, his plays are not dissimilar from those of his contemporaries—and they are the majority—who acclaim themselves for novelty, and for not stealing from Plautus and Terence. Occasionally their plea has considerable substance in it. Grazzini, for instance, in almost all his prologues, attacks those who stick to the mechanical devices and conventional situations of Latin comedy. He claims credit for his *Gelosia*, "perchè in essa non sono ritrovamenti. Chè, a dirne il vero, è gran cosa, gran meraviglia, anzi grandissimo miracolo, che di quante comedie nuove dallo assedio in qua, o pubblicamente o privatamente si sono recitate in Firenze, in tutte quante intervengano ritruovi, tutte forniscano in ritrovamenti: la qual cosa è tanto venuta a noja e in fastidio ai popoli, che, come sentano nell'argomento dire che nella presa d'alcuna città o nel sacco di qualche castello si siano smarrite o perdute bambine o fanciulli, fanno conto d'averle udite, e volentieri, se potessero con loro onore, se ne partirebbero; sapendo che tutte quante battono a un segno medesimo. E di qui si può conoscere, quanto questi cotali manchino di concetti e d'invenzione, veggendosi per lo più le loro comedie stracchiate, grette e rubacchiate qua e là: e peggio ancora, che essi accozzano il vecchio col nuovo, e l'antico col moderno, e fanno un guazzabuglio e una mescolanza, che non ha nè via nè verso, nè capo nè coda; e facendo la scena città moderne, e rappresentando i tempi d'oggi, v'introducono usanze passate e vecchie, e costumi antichi e tralasciati: e si scusano poi col dire: Così fece Plauto, e così usarono Terenzio e Menandro; non si accorgendo che in Firenze, in Pisa, in Lucca non si vive come si faceva anticamente in Roma e in Atene. Traduchino in mal'ora, se non hanno invenzione, e non rattoppino e guastino l'altrui e il loro insieme: il senno, e la prudenza degli uomini è sapersi accomodare ai tempi." There is a briefer statement of the same point of view in his prologue to *La Spiritata*, which was one of the few plays translated into the corpus of Elizabethan comedy. And *La Strega* has an introductory scene between Prologue and Argument as interlocutors in an almost Jonsonian manner, which is a comprehensive plea for modernity and for a proper independence of ancient authority, whether that of critic or of dramatist. The case turns on the fundamental claim that the whole object of comedy is to

give its hearers an immediate and recognised pleasure : “oggidi non si va più a veder recitare comedie per imparare a vivere, ma per piacere, per spasso, per diletto, o per passar maninconia e per rallegrarsi.” So modern times must have modern comedies, adapted to contemporary habits. “Aristotile e Orazio viddero i tempi loro, ma i nostri sono d’un ’altra maniera : abbiamo altri costumi, altra religione e altro modo di vivere, e però bisogna fare le comedie in altro modo : in Firenze non si vive come si viveva già in Atene e in Roma ; non ci sono schiavi, non ci usano figliuoli adottivi ; non ci vengono i ruffiani a vender le fanciulle ; nè i soldati dal dì d’oggi nei sacchi delle città o de’ castelli pigliano più le bambine in fascia, e allevandole per lor figliuole, fanno loro la dote, ma attendono a rubare quanto più possono, e se per sorte capitasser loro nelle mani, o fanciulle grandicelle, o donne maritate (se già non pensassero cavarne buona taglia), torrebbero loro la virginità e l’onore.”

After such an emphatic assertion of the comic dramatist’s liberty, it is disappointing to find that his comedies avail themselves so little of the rights claimed. Grazzini was fond of writing prologues, and his *Gelosia*, amongst its three, has one specially addressed to the ladies in the audience, which, despite the conventional phrases in it, excellently indicates the probable consequences on comedy of the kind of society for which it was written. It compels conjecture about the influence of such “bellissime e onestissime donne” as appear to have prevailed on the audience. Italian comedy, one suspects, would inevitably adapt itself to the conditions which were bound to make room for the romantic heroine, the ideal, that is, of contemporary womanhood. She is indeed almost ready to step into the scenes of such a notorious unromantic as Pietro Aretino. His *Ipocrito* ends with a quintuple peal of wedding bells—“consento che Porfira, Tansilla, Angizia, Svera et Annetta siano mogliere di Corebo, di Artico, di Tranquillo, di Prelio e di Zefiro” (Act v, sc. xxiii)—the very names defy the prosaic customs of the world ; and in the course of the play its people have ardently delivered themselves of ecstatic romantic sentiments : “a chi ama è facile l’impossibile.” Zefiro speaks of his Annetta as “vita, luce et anima de la mia anima, de la mia luce e de la mia vita” : and seems to mean it. Naturally, Aretino must occasionally thrust his tongue into his cheek ; but the smile is not necessarily a sceptic’s nor a mocker’s, for one of his own characters, devoutly reciting the articles of his faith,

admits the place of laughter in the service of love : "ma tornando a Cupido, non lo prenda a servire chi non ha valore e pazienza, perocchè egli è un Dio che si alimenta non meno di generosità e di fatica che di riso e di pianto" (Act II, sc. iv). And the speaker goes on to recount how he has served love with propitiatory quests and ventures which would have qualified the bravest mediæval knight to expect reward from the most exacting mediæval maiden : Aretino, indeed, clearly merits the casual epithet our Gabriel Harvey applied to his "courting" comedies. But with all his audacity, Aretino too easily accepts the restrictions which kept the parts of his ladies small in extent and insignificant in effect, although he allows himself at times the sixteen-century device which was meant to accept the traditional usage and yet extend to women a larger liberty for appearing in comedy : they are debarred from a free appearance on the streets of the stage, but they may appear freely at the windows of their houses and discourse with those below.

In fine, then, though Italian comedy in the sixteenth century never emancipated itself sufficiently from its inherited Roman tradition and from its conventional schemes and practices, to become the mirror of the contemporary ideals and sentiments which were freely reflected in English romantic comedy, it nevertheless provides ample indication of the trend in development, and of the inevitability of some such accommodation as was attempted in the romantic comedy of Shakespeare.

Not many English comedies of the sixteenth century are built directly on Italian models. But besides the three printed in Mr. Warwick Bond's *Early Plays from the Italian*, there is a fourth, *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, printed probably in 1584, and translated with considerable adaptation from Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele* (c. 1575) which had also served Abraham Fraunce as a source for his Latin play, *Victoria* (c. 1583). The remarkable fact about the English translators' adaptations is that in almost every respect they excise the more squalid and unromantic episodes of the original, to convert the story into a romantic play of love, rivalry and reconciliation. The juxtaposition of the Italian and the English versions excellently indicates the rôle of Italian drama in the sixteenth century. Debarred by its own conventions from achieving a definitively romantic comedy, it is nevertheless providing an assortment of circumstance and situation which cry out for such romantic development as English

dramatists were congenially inclined to supply. This makes no particular claim for *The Two Italian Gentlemen* as a play ; it is indeed a crude and unsuccessful attempt to impose romantic sentiment on a tale originally invented to express the coarser animal passions of men and women.

But there are in Italian one or two plays, apart from the so-called tragi-comedies, in which the movement towards romantic comedy is particularly marked. There is Piccolomini's *Amor Costante* (1536) and the anonymous *Gl'Ingannati* (1537). *Amor Costante* is literally what its title implies, the representation of ideally constant lovers. The academicians who presented it, duly avowed themselves corporately "esser schiavo, servo affezionato e sviscerato di queste donne" who were their guests at the performance, and for whom the comedy was written. Their choice of theme is in accord with the principle enunciated in the play :

" Oh felicissima coppia d'amanti ! oh amor costante ! oh bellissimo caso da farci sopra una comedia eccellentissima !" (Act II, sc. iii).

The comedy is not, however, well provided with essentially dramatic matter. There is much discourse at length, and a deal of sentimental narrative. But it represents its heroes and their ladies as true patterns of lovers in romance. Ferrante, one of its heroes, has suffered adventures in the right romantic key. " Con questa risoluzione, montati, una notte, in una barchetta preparata da due amici miei, per gran pezza di mare felicemente navigammo. Ma la fortuna, che sempre s'opponne ai bei disegni de li innamorati, volse che, come fummo nei mari di Pisa, fussemo assaliti da quattro fuste di mori da le quali fummo messi in mezzo e, doppo che i miei compagni, valorosamente combattendo, furon morti ed io gravemente ferito, venne ogni cosa in man de' mori. E già, in quel mezzo che combattemmo, avea una fusta di quelle, in mia presenza, rapita per forza la mia Ginevra e portatala via, non giovando alla meschina el pregarli o che l'uccidessero o che non la dividessero da me " (Act II, sc. iii). Love is the object of life, and its manifestations, its effects, and its obligations are told much in the way of Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Of one young hero we hear from his servant—"egli pochissimo mangia, la maggior parte del tempo piange e si lamenta ; sempre sta fisso in un medesimo pensiero il quale, profondissimo, continuamente gli rode l'animo ; non dorme un'ora di tutta la notte, e quella in mille pezzi, perciocché non

prima è addormentato che, farneticando, si sveglia" (Act I, sc. ii). The young man himself tells us how he feels: "Io so pur ch'io l'amo quanto amar si possa già mai. Io so pur che non è rimasto altro pensier in me che di servirla e odorarla con quella nettezza di fede che per me sia possibile, tener sempre spogliata l'animo dell' amor di ogni altra donna, aver fermo proposito, o bene o male ch'ella mi faccia, che tanto duri in me l'amor di lei quanto la vita, esser sempre diffensor dell' onor suo, non pensar mai cosa che le dispiaccia, spendere tutti quegli anni che mi restano per amor suo, con tanta fermezza che in rarissimi si troverebbe" (Act I, sc. ix). And another of these fine young men rhapsodises of himself—"che tu sei pur el più felice uomo del mondo. Oh beato te! oh consolazion grandissima! lieto, divino, fortunatissimo! oh allegrezza incomparabile! O Dio, o stelle, o sole, o luna!" (Act II, sc. iii). Though we are not vouchsafed much direct knowledge of the heroines of the play, we are given to understand that they too live for true love alone. Suited to this exalted sense of fidelity in love, there is an absolute recognition of other loyalties in life, private and political, and friendship imposes a lifelong and unquestioning devotion: "non si trova al mondo il maggior tesoro che la pura, vera e libera fedeltà" (Act III, sc. xiii). There is a soldier in *Amor Costante* whose service to his friend and whose shock at the suspicion of his friend's disloyalty is not unlike that of the sea-captain who brings Viola into *Twelfth Night*. A no less striking feature of *Amor Costante* is that, as in Shakespeare's comedies, the lower characters are allowed to display their inferiority by humorous mocking of the faith in which their masters live. The parasite Squazza, for instance, is almost Falstaffian in his contempt for what to him are the unsubstantial recompenses of a life of love. "Quanto io mi rido di questi locchi innamorati che si lassar perdere tanto in questa lor pazzia che non mangiano e non beon mai! Oh poverelli, di quanto ben son privi! . . . Questa è la beatitudine che si può aver in questo mondo. Tutti gli altri piaceri son cose vane. Perché, se tu pigli la musica, tutto è aria e fiato, che niente t'entra in corpo. L'aver denari confesso che gli è piacere, perché con quelli tu puoi proveder da mangiare; ché, altrimenti, io non saprei che farmene. Se noi parliam dell' amore, peggio che peggio; ch'io non so, per me, considerare che consolazion che s'abbin costoro di spender tutto il lor tempo in andare stringatelli, sprofumati, con le calze tirate, con la braghetta in punto,

con la camiscia stampata, con la persona ferma acciò che, torcendosi una stringa, non toccasse l'altra ; fare una sberrettata alla dama, dirgli un motto per una strada cogliendola all'improvista ad un cantone, mirandola un tratto sott'occhio, e lei miri te, gittarli quattro limoni, farsene render uno e baciarlo . . . etc. Tutte queste cose io no so a che diavol di fine che se le faccino, i merloni . . . Ma del mangiare tutto el contrario interviene, ché tuttavia ti sa meglio" (Act II, sc. viii).

In some ways, *Gl' Ingannati* is even closer to the English type. Like *Amor Costante*, it is an offering by an Italian academy to the ladies of its district. At points it is so close to the English kind that Shakespeare is alleged to have reflected something from it in his *Twelfth Night*. But the matter of it had wide European currency. It was translated into French (1543), adapted for the French stage (1549), and for the Spanish (1556). A Latin version appears in England as the *Laelia* played at Cambridge in 1595, whilst its story is also to be found in the novels of Italy and France and in our English *Historie of Apolonius and Silla*, by Barnabe Riche (1581). It is, perhaps, the best of sixteenth-century Italian comedies, early in date though it be. Not only does it employ its story to excellent dramatic effect ; it infuses into its romantic incidents something of the sanity of a mature comic spirit. Its Cesario, moreover (who, of course, is not so called), not only has the active rôle assigned to Viola by Shakespeare, but has also something of Viola's capacity for profiting from her rich and romantic intuitions without endangering the native sanity of her comprehension of circumstance.

But now to return from the Italians to our English plays, and particularly to the Shrew series, or at least to that part of the Shrew plays which tells of the wooing of the shrew's sister. It is in this part that *The Taming of A Shrew* differs most extensively from *The Taming of the Shrew*. The non-Shakespearian version is artistically the crudest kind of medley. Though its other half is the boisterous taming of a shrew, its wooing plot is in the most flagrant or even fatuous romantic manner. The shrew in it has two sisters, not one, as has Shakespeare's Katharine. These two are wooed in stilted romantic sentiments by two conventional lovers. There is no dramatic rivalry, nothing to impede the steady flow of high falutin' literary devotion. It includes from *The Supposes* the further motive of a servant deliberately disguised as an additional wooer ; but he is only

employed to pay suit to the shrew, and so leave her sisters free to enjoy the uninterrupted cooing of their lovers. Every comic incident of its original in Ariosto is either dropped or clumsily perverted to a use which enlarges the fatuous romanticism of its dominant temper. The lover's old father, for instance, is taken over ; but only to add to the conventional harmonies of the concluding marriage feast. And already one has endured a surfeit of these romantic wooings. This, for instance, is how they do it :

- Polidor.* Come faire Emelia my louelie loue,
Brighter then the burnisht pallace of the sunne,
The eie-sight of the glorious firmament,
In whose bright lookes sparkles the radiant fire,
Wilie Prometheus slilie stole from loue,
Infusing breath, life, motion, soule,
To everie obiect stricken by thine eies.
Oh faire Emelia I pine for thee,
And either must enjoy thy loue or die.
- Emelia.* Fie man, I know you will not die for loue.
Ah Polidor thou needst not to complaine,
Eternall heaven sooner be dissolvde,
And all that pearseth Phebus silver eie,
Before such hap befall to Polidor.
- Polidor.* Thanks faire Emelia for these sweet words,
But what saith Phylena to hir friend ?
- Phylena.* Why I am buying marchandise of him.
- Aurelius.* Mistresse you shall not need to buie of me,
For when I crost the bubling Canibey,
And sailde along the Cristall Helispont,
I filde my cofers of the wealthie mines,
Where I did cause Millions of labouring Moores
To undermine the cauernes of the earth,
To seeke for strange and new found pretious stones,
And diue into the sea to gather pearle,
As faire as Iuno offered Priams sonne,
And you shall take your liberall choice of all.
- (Sc. vi.)

Or in more settled moods of unmitigated rapture :

- Polidor.* Faire Emelia sommers sun bright Queene,
Brighter of hew then is the burning clime,
Where Phoebus in his bright æquator sits,
Creating gold and pressious minnerals,
What would Emelia doo ? if I were forst
To leave faire Athens and to range the world.

Emelia. Should thou assay to scale the seate of loue,
 Mounting the suttile ayrie regions
 Or be snacht up as erste was Ganimed,
 Loue should give winges unto my swift desires,
 And prune my thoughts that I would follow thee,
 Or fall and perish as did Icarus.

Aurelius. Sweetly resolved, faire Emelia.

and so on for fifty more lines of golden syrop as glucosic and as sticky, ending :

Sweet Phylena bewties mynerall,
 From whence the sun exhales his glorious shine,
 And clad the heaven in thy reflected raies,
 And now my liefest loue, the time drawes nie,
 That Himen mounted in his saffron robe,
 Must with his torches waight upon thy traine,
 As Hellens brothers on the horned Moone,
 Now luno to thy number shall I adde,
 The fairest bride that ever Marchant had.

(Sc. xiv.)

Even the two gentlemen of Verona are nearer humanity than these, and the ludicrousness of their performance is emphasised by its juxtaposition with such men and women as a tamer and a shrew to be tamed. Yet even at the end of *The Taming of A Shrew* the taming makes not the slightest diminution of her sisters' conjugal felicities.

There is a far finer dramatic instinct in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. Bianca is never set adrift in the wide ocean of romantic emotion. She is not allowed to grow too far beyond the stock from which she springs, the heroine of Ariosto's *Suppositi*. Her retinue of admirers is a little larger than is that of Ariosto's lady, for all her three are genuine wooers. But almost as much as Ariosto's, her wooers are deprived of the licence, so riotously enjoyed by those in *The Taming of A Shrew*, to dissolve their sugary hearts in luscious volubility. Bianca's lovers are indeed granted somewhat larger liberty of romantic utterance than are their counterparts in Ariosto's *Suppositi*. Lucentio is enthralled when he sees her coral lips to move : everything attaching to her is sweet and sacred, and the very air about her is perfumed by her breath. Hortensio, loving with all affection, and with his lute, has but two notes of the gamut—"show pity, or I die." But clearly these Anglo-Italian lovers are not yet

initiated into the full ritual. They are mostly occupied with planning opportunities to express a faith which has not yet become articulate. Love remains more an intrigue than a religion. Hence the convenience of the classical machinery. Wily, scheming men-servants, disguises to procure mistaken identifications, inopportune coincidences to be encountered by still further reaches of unfeeling cunning—these are the traditional weapons of classical comedy. Though the old men of the piece are much more sympathetic and amenable than Latin comedy made them, they are still treated with the brutal callousness which formerly had its legitimate occasion. Fathers in Roman comedy deserved the disciplinary measures which Vicentio has now to suffer, though here his behaviour is exemplary. Tranio is straight from Plautus and from Terence, still practising his customary rôle of beguiling the old folks in the interests of their amorous sons and daughters. If at the outset of the play Lucentio allows Tranio less initiative than is commonly possessed by his ancient prototype (for the disguise is Lucentio's own idea, and his having the wits to come by it, is part of the unconsciously increasing importance of the amorous young man as he grows from his subordinate part in Roman comedy to the predominant one in modern plays) yet the course of the incidents draws more and more largely on Tranio's own ingenuity. Grumio and Biondello bear their Roman origin unmistakably stamped on their features. Theirs is the traditional stupidity of "fond reasoning," and of clumsy and occasionally unclean quibbling. Theirs, too, are the customary rewards of their type, good sound thwackings with stick or rope. Grumio is Petruchio's servant, however, and not Lucentio's. But his fellowship with Tranio is a strong link between the wooers of Bianca and the tamer of Katharine. Through such alliance, Tranio is a curb on their romantic sentiments. His natural task is to stir his master from futile trances of ecstatic adoration :

I pray, awake, sir, if you love the maid,
Bend thoughts and wits to achieve her.

It is Tranio, too, who encourages the rival lovers frequently to dispense with prescribed forms of jealous enmity, for the more congenial ways of passing an afternoon in quaffing carouses to their lady's health :

Do as adversaries do in law,
Strive mightily, but eat and drink as friends.

There is virtue in this plan. For even though the rival lovers who maintain it so far forth as friends are not completely cured of the desire to have to't afresh in the conventional tilts of rivalry in love, there is bound to be some mitigation of their knight-errantry. Gremio will find a feast no little compensation for the loss of a mistress, and Hortensio will discover that a widow who is wealthy and loving, if not a paragon of beauty, is nevertheless a worthier prize than a disdainful maiden who gives her favours elsewhere. Thus is Thurio of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* so soon justified of his descendants. Bianca herself suffers a surprising metamorphosis when she frames her manners to the new regime. She begins as the retiring maiden whose modesty and silence stand as pattern of "maid's mild behaviour and sobriety." She cowers timorously before her cantankerous sister, humbly subscribing herself in a quite uncovenanted submission to Katharine's pleasure. Yet in the end, she has acquired a most unmaidenly taste in repartee, and a stiff-necked reluctance to do anything her lawful husband lovingly entreats her to do.

But if romance in Bianca's wooing is thus largely attenuated, it is completely destroyed in Katharine's. Pollution penetrates to the innermost sanctum of romantic holies. The ritual of wooing is exposed to boisterous mockery. It was a stroke of audacious profanity to take the brutal rollicking temper of classical comedy which knew not love, and to impose it as the ruling air on a story which comprises nothing but the incidents of courtship. Love becomes a matter of business, not of sentiment. "Wealth is the burden of my wooing dance" declares Petruchio, who has come to wive it wealthily in Padua. Courtship should be set within a lawyer's office, not in moonlit pleasaunces. "Let specialties be therefore drawn between us, that covenants may be kept on either hand." Wooing itself is not with flowers and song and sonnet, but with discordant argument and fisticuffs. At times in the procedure the wooer may find it opportune to use the traditional flattery of the code, but this is merely a matter of tactics, not of faith. The atmosphere of devotion has entirely disappeared. Even the marriage ceremony is riotously profaned. Obviously there is here no bid for love, but for subjugation.

Naturally, a tale of taming makes both the tamer and the tamed more like dwellers in a menagerie than in the polite world. Yet even such a brutal insistence on the animal in man is no unhealthy symptom

in an author whose *Gentlemen of Verona* had been built on the facile assumption that men are near allied to angels. Petruchio is a madcap ruffian and a swearing Jack. His life has been a boisterous one. An adventurer on land and seas, whose music is the roar of lions, the chafe of waves puffed up with winds, great ordnance in the field and heaven's artillery thundering in the skies, he has the swaggering insouciance, the brutal strength, and the animal preferences which fit him for the taming. Katharine is less intelligible. She is intolerably curst and shrewd and froward so beyond all measure, that although her extravagant bullying of her sister and of her teacher is within her physical compass, her complaint that her father is committing her to an old maid's life, and her lament that she will sit and weep until she finds occasion of revenge, seem widely out of character. Even more disconcerting are the tears she sheds because she anticipates that Petruchio will fail her at the church, or will surely overlook some item or other of the arrangements ordained by fashionable propriety for a bourgeois wedding. A Katharine of such nature needs no taming. She needs a dietary. After that, a moderate dress-allowance will bribe her into absolute submission. She will place her hands below her husband's foot in token of her duty.

Petruchio is different from the wooers of romance, because he remembers the grocer, the butcher, and the tailor. He drags love out of heaven, and brings it down to earth. To the chivalrous, love is a state of worship; to him, it is a problem of wiving. Its object is not primarily a search for spiritual bliss in the contemplation of the beloved. It seeks merely a guarantee of domestic comfort, by securing a Kate conformable to other household cates, a wife who will be as "his house and as his household stuff." A condition of this is naturally, that he must be master of what is his own. Courtship is merely incidental to the attainment of this ease and settlement. It is not of itself the business of a life-time—"I come not every day to woo." And as the world knows, it may be the matter of a casual moment—"I knew a wench married in an afternoon as she went to the garden for parsley to stuff a rabbit." But casual or deliberate, it keeps a main eye on the state to which it is itself merely preparatory—"there be good fellows in the world, an a man could light on them, would take her with all her faults, *and money enough*." Whether it proceed by sweet words and by kisses, or by combing noddles with

a three-legged stool, the test of its worth is invariable and plain ; it is its worth as a method of securing a guarantee of " peace and love and quiet life " at the domestic hearth of man and wife. The mind which takes its love and courtship so is one which claims to take the world for what it is and to accept the conditions life imposes on the living of it. It is a matter-of-fact recognition of the practical and the expedient. It is rudimentary common sense—rudimentary, however, because though at some stage in his development, man may have been able to conduct his wiving so, it is apparent that, except in moments of temporary revolt, no Elizabethan and no modern could really hold to the underlying assumption that marriage is mainly an economic arrangement. *The Taming of the Shrew* gives Shakespeare momentary ease of the burden of romance ; but only by denying its existence. It does not solve his problem ; it merely shelves it. But he will return to the facts of Elizabethan experience in the more characteristic mood which we shall find in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the meantime, this at least can be claimed : that though for the moment his mood was to exhibit the love of woman more in the spirit of the Roman market-place than in that of his own modern Europe, he has at least allowed his artistic sense to make the proper accommodation in the temper of every part of his play. No such claim can be made for the author of *The Taming of A Shrew*.

THE ETRUSCAN INFLUENCE ON ROMAN RELIGION.¹

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IN the lectures I have hitherto delivered in this Library I have been generally concerned with the interpretation of some part or aspect of particular Latin authors. Yet I have sometimes been led to consider the history of the ideas which governed them, and which made a large part of what they had to give to humanity. And so long as I was in active service on the staff of the University it would perhaps have been imprudent, if not improper, for me to handle questions definitely bearing on the substance of religions which have contributed to any form of faith still commonly held. But if I am to treat the subject before us in any honest way, although the evidence I have to bring and interpret may conceivably be unwelcome to some minds unaccustomed to consider the growth of religious ideas, yet they will, I hope, believe me when I say that the historical affinities which I shall suggest, and the view of certain dogmas which the comparison implies, are not offered as an exhaustive discussion of the subject.

Rather more than a year ago, before a Manchester audience, though not in this Library, I tried to estimate the effect of the religious mythology of the Greeks upon the native religion of Rome and of the stocks in central Italy akin to those of Rome. The whole of that chapter is outside our view to-night, yet for clearness sake I must remind you of what the primitive religion of the Sabine or Latian farmer was. As before, I draw on Warde Fowler's sympathetic summary² of the evidence.

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 9th December, 1931.

² *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), especially c. iv.

The gods of early Italy represent exactly some definite process of nature or human life in which the worshipper wanted supernatural help. He turned to his *Penates* to keep his *penus*, i.e. his larder, stocked, to *Ceres* to make his cornfield flourish, to *Silvanus* to make his trees grow, to *Faunus* to make his sheep bear lambs; *Lupercus* would keep the wolves away, *Flora* brightened his garden, *Terminus* prevented his neighbours from trespassing on his fields; *Robigus* was propitiated lest he should inflict red rust on the farmers' wheat; *Portunus* must be trusted to look after the harbours, and *Fortuna* to do what she could for the worshipper with things that came by chance.

Here, therefore, we have an attitude of mind practical and cautious, but conscious of some apprehension, and so ready to be impressed with the warnings and fears common among a set of people with whom the Romans were continually in contact, even when Rome had ceased to be governed by them.

As we shall see, the religion of the Etruscans may be described not unjustly as one of fear, and fear to a quite intense degree; so that we cannot wonder that it should have left a deep impress on the Roman character, especially when we remember that for what seems to have been a period of at least a century the whole public life of Rome was conducted by Etruscan Tyrants; that it was Etruscans who built the triple temple on the Capitol, the most sacred spot in Rome; and that Etruscans had stamped their ideas upon the dress and the pomp of the supreme magistrates, and especially on their behaviour in the crowning moment of their career, their return in victory from war; not to mention smaller but rather pervasive details, such as the art of writing and the knowledge of the calendar which the Romans owed to their Etruscan masters.

Our knowledge of Etruscan religion is derived from many sources; perhaps the most important lies in the direct statements of ancient authorities, especially in the account which Cicero gives us in his interesting discussion of the art and theory of Divination; to which we may add the occasional pictures of Etruscan religious functionaries in poets like Vergil and Ovid. Then we have an avenue of information only recently opened through the study of proper names which has enabled us, and in particular Professor Wilhelm Schulze of Berlin, to sift out from the mass of recorded Roman names those which show indisputable Etruscan characteristics, such as all the masculine names of the first

declension, like *Sulla* and *Catilina*, and nearly all that contain the elements *-rn-*, e.g. *Turnus*, or *-nn-*, e.g. *Porsenna*, or *-ln-*, like *Cilnius*. Many of these people took a conspicuous part in Roman history, and their behaviour is instructive.

Finally we have the monuments of the Etruscans themselves, both their articulate writings, of which by slow degrees we are beginning to understand a very little, and their statues and paintings which bear on religious topics.

This may seem a rather terrifying list ; but in what follows I can only touch briefly on typical parts of the evidence. Some of the last class, which I will submit in reproductions, is in fact the most eloquent of all.

The two sides of Etruscan religion of which we know most, perhaps indeed they are the only two sides of which there is anything to know, are, first that of Divination and the rites attached to its various branches ; and secondly that of their beliefs about the After-life and the rites attached to them. At the end we shall be able to illustrate from history the effect of these beliefs and practices upon Roman life, and conclude by briefly examining the effect they produced on the mind of one Roman writer who possibly had some Etruscan blood in his veins, but who at all events was exceedingly familiar with the Etruscan religion.

The art of divination as the Etruscans conceived it was divided into three branches in which the worshipper, if such he can be called, was instructed what to do about three different things which troubled his mind ; namely, first the condition of the entrails, especially the liver, of victims offered for sacrifice ; secondly strokes of lightning ; and thirdly any other portentous events including earthquakes. A whole profession of men, known as the *Haruspices* (called *netusvis* in Etruscan), were devoted to the 'interpretation' of such phenomena ; for a given fee they were prepared to answer four questions :—

1. By what god was the portent sent.
2. What offence on the part of the worshipper had caused the portent.
3. Of what dangers to the worshipper the portent gave warning.
4. What sacrifices or other proceedings on the part of the worshipper could be relied upon to avert these threatened misfortunes.

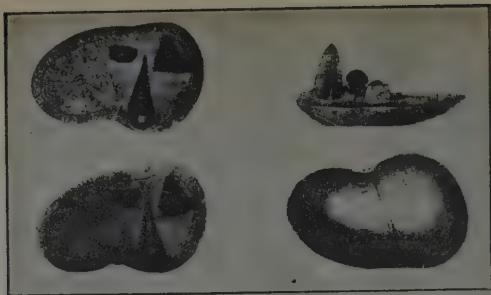


FIG. 1.

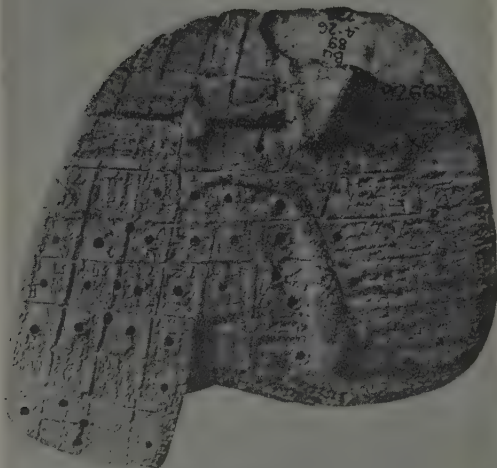


FIG. 2.

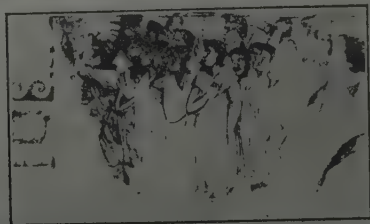
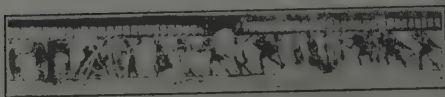


FIG. 3.

This amazing system seems to have been impressed upon the state-religion of Rome by the Etruscan kings, of whom the family of the Tarquins furnished the last and most famous. Their tyranny brought to an end the institution of kingship at Rome, which left behind substantial traces of its Etruscan character in more than one side of Roman life, and nowhere more than in religion. To the Etruscan period we must ascribe the institution of the two Colleges, as they were called, of Pontiffs and Augurs, who between them, with the help of the *Haruspices*, were responsible for the ritual of public religion. We have no record, at all events, of the institution of these Colleges at any later date than the period of the kingship. No meeting of the Senate or people could be held, no war could be declared, no battle by sea or land could be begun without the sanction of heaven, which it was the business of the Augur and the soothsayer to inquire for; and whenever any strange portent was recorded the appropriate ceremonies had first to be dictated by them, and then humbly executed by the highest officers of State with the help of the proper priests.

All the doctrine on which these observances were based came from Etruria, though no doubt it embodied some customs used among Italian tribes before the period of Etruscan rule. Of the rules of augury proper, which concerned the flight of various birds, and the ritual which was held to be necessary in order to interpret and to 'expiate,'—such was the word they used,—to 'expiate' strokes of lightning, and other kinds of portent, I need say nothing now. But the other branch of the art of Divination, that which was based on inspection of the entrails of victims sacrificed to this or that god, is characteristically Etruscan; and it was conducted with such care at Rome that it is worth our attention for a few minutes; especially as we have learnt a good deal about it from recent discoveries.

Here is a picture (Fig. i., 1-4) of a curious object found at Piacenza in North Italy in 1877.¹ It is made of bronze in a convenient size to be held in the hand, if its round side rests in one's

¹ This photograph and the description is mainly based on Carl Thulin's article on *Die Götter des Martianus Capella* in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche* (edited by Dieterich and Wunsch, vol. iii., 1906); but some details come from Thulin's excellent article in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclop.* (vii., 1912) s.v. *Haruspices*; and of course from Cicero's *De Divinatione* and his speech in 43 B.C.: *De Haruspicum Responso*.

palm. On the flat side are inscribed twice what we know to be the names of a large number of Etruscan deities, divided into sixteen different sets according to the region of the sky which was their allotted dwelling-place in the Etruscan theory. An anatomist would smile at the somewhat rudely conventionalised image of the liver of a sheep with its various attachments ; but there is no doubt what the image is meant to represent.

The Etruscan words which appear on the flat surface are the names of sixteen different gods, corresponding to the sixteen divisions which the Etruscans made of the Heavens. These sixteen names are repeated twice over, once round the edge and once in the divisions enclosed inside this ring. Of these names we know the meaning of only seven or eight, of which the chief is Tin which corresponds to the Latin Jove ; he appears in three divisions, one for himself, and one for each of two satellites. Among the others mentioned are the Etruscan equivalents of Juno, Mars, Saturn, Liber, Neptune and Silvanus. Any defect in the liver of the 'victim, at a point corresponding to that marked on this bronze pattern by the name of a particular god, showed, if you please, that he or she must be propitiated by the particular kind of sacrifice which he or she was understood to prefer. And since each god had his own particular way of affecting the worshipper who did not please him, you could count the cost beforehand, if you were so imprudent as to neglect to make the offering prescribed by the priest. The whole liver was divided, as you see, into two halves ; that on the right was regarded as the part belonging to you and that on the left the part referring to your enemies. So that a good sign on your enemies' half was as bad for you as an unfavourable sign on the part that related to you. Note in passing the pleasant assumption that every worshipper had enemies to whom he wished evil and who returned his wishes ! That the Etruscan religion took for granted, as do so many of the Hebrew psalms.

Now look at the curious projections from the top. The largest, which is of a pyramidal shape, was called 'the head of the liver.' I believe it is now called the *pyramidal process* and used to be called the *lobus Spiegelii*. This bronze pattern and another which will appear later, are both, so the anatomists tell us, copied from a sheep's liver. Anatomists tell us also that in the sheep the pyramidal pro-

jection varies very greatly ; so it made a happy hunting-ground for the priest of this beautiful faith. If it was very large, that meant good luck ; if it was very small they said it was absent, and that was terrible ; if it was split, that meant a civil war was impending ; if, however, your circumstances were already in a desperate condition, then it was a good thing, so Pliny tells us,¹ for this queer little pyramid to be split, because that portended a great change, which might be for the better.

We learn further from this model and elsewhere² that the gall-bladder was especially connected with Neptune, and also with Mars, no doubt because it contained liquid, and was generally red. If it was nearly black it portended bad luck by sea ; if it was especially red you might expect your house to catch fire. The muscular streaks, known as *fibræ*, were also supposed to have a meaning ; if they were especially red, that foretold a drought.³ It was a serious expense to ascertain the will of heaven in this way, especially if you were not content with the answer given you by the deity you turned to first. It was a rule of the priests, who no doubt were on very good terms with the farmers who bred the cattle, that you could only find out about one deity by each victim. So that you might go through a whole list of deities with a corresponding number of sheep ; and as Cicero asks (no doubt using an ambiguous phrase on purpose), what are you to do when Apollo's entrails give you a favourable answer and those of his sister Diana warn you of evil ? Your only obvious duty was to pay the priest for both victims ; but that took you very little further with your own concerns, except that he probably advised you to try a third victim.

Before we leave this topic I must submit a similar monument, now in the British Museum, made of clay (Fig. ii.), which was found on the site of the ancient Babylon and was dated by Mr. Wallis Budge about 2100 B.C. Naturally there are some differences, arising in a 1500 years' interval ; yet when we observe the curious likeness between the two models, especially the importance of the pyramid in both, we shall hardly need any other evidence to tell us in what region to look for the origin of the Etruscans.

It seems almost incredible that stuff like this could have imposed

¹ *H.N.* xi. 190, *caesum . . . dirimit curas.*

² Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 195.

³ Fulgentius, *Serm. Ant.* (Helm, p. 112).

itself upon the credence of a whole nation for many centuries ; but it certainly did. We read, for instance, that Pompey was greatly addicted¹ to consulting the entrails ; and even Julius Cæsar carried about with him a favourite priest, named Spurinna, though he only attended to his remarks when he thought them politically convenient. This accomplished Etruscan discovered, so it was said, that a few days before the Ides of March 44 a great bull which was being sacrificed by Julius Cæsar had gone through life without any heart ! Of this Cicero remarked later² that the likeliest explanation was that on seeing Cæsar in a royal purple robe on a golden throne³ the bull concluded that Cæsar must have lost his head, and so promptly lost his own heart. (The Latin for a man who has lost his head is *excors*, so that Cicero's jest was immediately intelligible.)

How serious the political use of the *haruspices* ('soothsayers') was we may realise from a single example. When Cicero had been restored from exile in 57 B.C. and his house was given back to him, after having been solemnly confiscated, a process which involved some kind of dedication to the gods, he had to make a long speech to defend his possession ; this was because his enemy the infamous Clodius had procured from the *haruspices* a lengthy and oracular declaration that the State was threatened with great evils because it had taken away from the gods what had been pronounced sacred to them. Clodius, we may notice, was hoist with his own petard (a possibility which no doubt the *haruspices* had been clever enough to contemplate) ; for Cicero was easily able to show that Clodius had committed much greater sacrilege than anything involved in the matter of his own house ; and that the dangers to be expected were more likely to come from Clodius than from anyone else. But perhaps the most striking thing in the speech is that Cicero does not dare⁴ to impugn the

¹ Cic., *Div.* II. § 53.

² *Div.* I. § 19 and II. § 37.

³ Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 186.

⁴ Examples might be multiplied indefinitely. Augustus and Tiberius set limits to the use of *haruspices*, see for example Dio Cass., 52. 36. 2, and 56. 25 ; Suet., *Tib.* 63. But Claudius recognised them officially, being proud of his own knowledge of the Etruscan language, see e.g. Tac., *Ann.* xi. 15, xiii. 24. The Emperor Alexander Severus actually endowed a professorship in the art of *haruspicina* and provided scholarships for boys who were going to study it ; see Hist. Aug., *Al. Sev.* 27. 6, and 44. 4. Constantine and Constantius tried to forbid them ; see *Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 1 and 4 ; but Julian

authority of the prediction. Even in his acute analysis of the absurdities of the belief he is careful to say¹ that it is the duty of a good citizen to follow the customs of his country. Those who would condemn him for this should remember the story, which I believe is well attested, of the captain of one of our ironclads in the war who received orders to attempt a particularly dangerous enterprise on the 13th of the month, which was a Friday. On learning that a large number of his crew regarded the enterprise as certain to fail, he went to his admiral to beg to have the date changed, and when the admiral ridiculed his reasons, the captain laid down his commission, and the admiral had to give way. Or if they wish a fully documented record of the even more lucrative exploitation of the piety of credulous people, in our own enlightened days, they have only to turn to Dr. Fisher's biography of the late Mrs. Eddy.

Has any epidemic more consuming power than that of superstition ?

After what we have now learnt of these old-world practices it is a relief to turn to the thoughtful and dignified conclusion to which Cicero is led, although he is courteously content to leave his antagonist in the discussion in possession of an open mind. His own conclusion is this :—

‘We must then surely dismiss with abhorrence divination drawn from dreams as well as all the other kinds ; for, if we may speak frankly, it is a superstition which has spread over many nations and which has taken captive the popular mind and the common weakness of humanity. That has been my chief hope in this discussion ; I felt that I should have rendered no small service to myself, and to any whom I could influence, if I could destroy this superstition root and branch. And yet (this I am anxious to make clear) religion is not abolished by our abolishing superstition. The wise

made it part of his pagan revival to re-establish them, see Amm. Marc., e.g. xxii. 12. 6 and 7. Theodosius abolished it, as we learn from his code, xvi. 10. 9 and 12. However, there are other records of them later (e.g. Claudian, *In IV Cons. Hon.* 145), and they were still being prohibited in the seventh century (Mueller-Deecke, *Etrusker*, ii.² p. 18, cite the *decretum Gratiani* of the Concilium Poletanum in 633 A.D.).

¹ See e.g., Div. II., §§ 28 and 71.

man will maintain the customs of his ancestors by due observance of sacred rites and ceremonies; and that there is some transcendent and eternal Nature and one to which the race of men ought to look with reverence, is a fact which he must acknowledge if he considers the beauty of the universe and the whole order of the heavens. Therefore while, on the one hand, that religion which is allied to the knowledge and study of nature deserves to be preached and extended, yet the roots of superstition must be steadily weeded out. For superstition is a menace which is always upon you, pressing, driving, pursuing wherever you turn, when you hear some fortune-teller or some ominous sound, or when you offer a sacrifice, or see a bird fly, or catch sight of a Chaldean or an Etruscan soothsayer, or if it lightens or thunders, if something is struck by lightning, if anything portentous is born or made; some of all these things are continually happening and you are never allowed to rest with a quiet mind.'—Cic., *Divin*, ii. 72, 148-9.

Turn now to a side of the Etruscan religion in which they made use of a set of Greek doctrines which, as we shall see, had once some ethical value. I mean the Orphic-Pythagorean teaching of punishments and rewards in the After-life, paintings of which begin to be frequent in Etruscan tombs from the fourth century B.C. Of these there can be no doubt that the punishments seemed to the Etruscans the more interesting part and the one in which their painters took most delight. There are indeed some scenes of feasting much like what we read of the Mohammedan paradise, but they are comparatively infrequent in the fourth and later centuries B.C.; before that it is difficult to be sure whether the scenes of feasting are anything more than pleasant recollections of what the dead man had enjoyed in his life,—indeed he may have had them painted in advance while he was still living. But at all events the doctrine of penalties, when once it had become familiar, was taken up eagerly; and it formed, along with the rules for divination, all that there was of Etruscan literature. The object of these Acherontic writings, as they were called, we learn from more than one authority;¹ it was to provide a kind of

¹ Mart. Cap. ii. 142; Serv. on *Aen.* iii. 168 and *Aen.* iii. 231.

Baedeker's Guide to the Infernal Regions, a list of dangers and deities which could be dealt with beforehand, or as one passage suggests¹ even after death, by appropriate sacrifices. By killing certain victims in honour of certain gods at certain seasons, the Etruscan was taught² that he could make the soul of a dead man itself into a god, and so deliver it from all the evil powers below.

Fig. iii. contains two pictures from tombs³ at Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii. The first shows a long procession of dead souls being pursued by devils with hammers or pickaxes, whichever you like to call them; and it seems that Dante owed his notion⁴ of the devils with rakes (*roncigli*), to this tradition. He may even have seen this very picture. The next shows us the soul of a young priest, so we learn from the inscription (*cesache*), being marched off to torture by Charu, the tall figure in the background, with the flat nose of a satyr, the pointed ears of an ass, snakes in his forehead, a claw (instead of a right hand) laid upon his victim's shoulder, and the great hammer resting on his own left shoulder. The procession is led by a Fury with a torch with three metal shields. The object of these, it may be conjectured, was to cover a larger portion of the victim's skin with the hot metal than the actual flame of the torch might affect; as the torch burnt down the largest of these bronze plates would drop off, then the smaller ones would come into play. Fig. iv. is a sketch given by Brun⁵ from the Tomba Bruschi at Corneto; it shows a young man named *Anes Arnth Velthur* saying good-bye to his father and being carried off by devils.

We possess also several eighteenth century sketches of paintings from Corneto which have since fallen to pieces. The substance of the sketches is no doubt correct, but the detail, such as the expression of the faces, is not to be trusted as authentic, so I do not reproduce them here. The pictures⁶ show us souls suspended to receive punish-

¹ Mart. Cap. ii. 140.

² Arnob. ii. 62.

³ The *Tomba del Cardinale* and *T. del Tifone*; cf. Fr. Poulsen, *Etr. Tomb-painting* (1922), p. 58.

⁴ *Infer.*, Canto xxi. and xxii. For his familiarity with Corneto, see *Infer.*, Canto xiii. 9, a passage cited by Weege, *Etruskische Malerei* (Halle, 1921), p. 48.

⁵ *Ann. Ist. Arch.*, 1866, p. 422.

⁶ Given by Weege, *Etr. Malerei*, p. 33, from Dempster's *De Etr. Regali* (1724).

ment, *suspensae ad uentos*, as Vergil calls it, and their torturers are advancing upon them with a hammer and a burning torch, and a curious implement intended to tear the skin from their bodies, perhaps what Plautus calls *inductores* when used upon slaves ('per suaders' or perhaps 'plasterers').

The next (Fig. v.) is still in existence in a tomb at Corneto. Between the shades of Teiresias and Memnon¹ an asphodel plant with little souls hung on to it by any one of their limbs,—head, feet, arms and the rest. And that these grim imaginations correspond to things that were actually done to unfortunate slaves we have sadly plentiful evidence.² Next we have some remarkably faithful³ restorations, which you may see in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, of figures from the underworld. The first (Fig. vi.) shows us Hades and Persephone enthroned in the cloudy inferno; notice their headdress and the snake which Hades carries in his left hand, and the three-headed giant Geryon who is receiving instructions.

Fig. vii. shows us the same infernal pair watching a feast being got ready.

The next (Fig. viii.) is from Florence again; the raven type of devil is a particularly favourite image in these paintings; his name was Tuchulcha. Besides his beak and his snaky head he carries snakes and either a torch or a hammer, and he is torturing Theseus. This comes from the tomba dell Orco at Corneto.

We have seen enough by this time to realise that it was not a pleasant thing in Etruria to fall into the hands of Death. Admirers of the Etruscans⁴ have apologised for the brutality of these pictures by pointing out that these scenes from the underworld do not appear in Etruria before the fourth century B.C., and that the general doctrine of purification by punishment after death was not invented in Etruria,

¹ In Etruscan *Terias(als)* and *Memrun*.

² E.g. Plaut., *Asin.*, 301, 549 (*inductoresque acerrumos gnarosque nostri tergi*); *Capt.*, 998.

³ Their truthfulness appears from comparing them even with the colourless photographs of what still actually remains in the tombs, given, e.g., by Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, to whose learning I am much indebted. For the photographs from Florence, I am indebted to the kindness of the Director of the Museum, Professor A. Minto and of my friend Mr. J. A. Spranger.

⁴ Weege, *Etr. Malerei*, p. 23; Randall MacIver, *The Etruscans*, pp. 52 and 128.



FIG. 4.

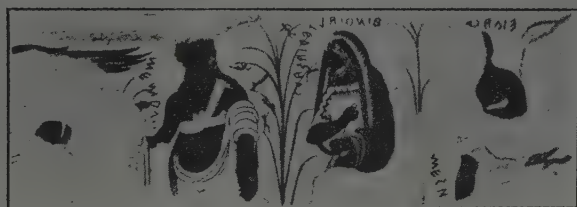


FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

but came thither from sources which may be called either Orphic or Pythagorean, because the school of Pythagoras embraced the Orphic mysteries with enthusiasm and spread them widely throughout Italy. For example we have a Greek inscription found at Cumae¹ in 1903, dating, as its alphabet shows, from the fifth century B.C., which runs thus: "The law of heaven forbids me who have been initiated to lie in this tomb." This is in itself an interesting document, showing the side of the Orphic doctrine which was most treasured by a Greek mind, namely, the hope it professed to give of immortality; and it is of course well known that that was the belief which made the Mysteries of Eleusis so famous and so highly esteemed by the Athenians.

How did the Etruscans apply this belief in practice?

The inscription from Cumae makes an interesting comment upon what the Etruscans did. It recalls to my frivolous mind the story of the Salvation Army lass, who finding herself face to face in a railway carriage with a high dignitary of the Church of England, plucked up courage to ask him earnestly, "Sir, are you saved?" To which the cleric, rather cruelly, replied, "Do you mean *σφζόμενος* ('being saved') or *σεσωσμένος* ('having been saved')?" Well, the faithful Orphic initiate at Cumae had no doubt about the matter; he used the perfect participle; he had been made into a proper mystic, *βεβακχευμένον*, the great transaction was all done. On the other hand, the trembling Etruscan had no such confidence; he could only be saved, if saved at all, by a long process of sacrifices and offerings conducted by the priestly profession, which was a wealthy and influential part of every Etruscan community,—a process, too, which needed to be continued after the man's death. That at least is suggested by a passage in Martianus Capella, where the heroine rejoices to have been rendered immortal by a magical potion without descending to the Lower World;² and seems to be confirmed

¹ *Not. Scav.*, 1905, p. 377. I give the only rendering of the Greek which appears to me (as to Sogliano and the editors of the new Liddell and Scott) to be possible. The construction which Otto Kern (*Orpheus*, 1920, p. 5) appears to favour may have many merits, but it is not Greek.

² Mart. Cap. (ii. § 140 ff.) gives details of her rejoicing thus: 'Because she had not been obliged to set eyes upon the god of the Underworld with his wife, as the Etruscans used to ordain; nor to tremble at the Furies or the Chaldean horrors; nor to submit to burning by fire or purification by waters . . .; nor to seal her immortality, a gift wrapped in the snaky hands of Charon, by suffering death herself first.'

by the character of the longest Etruscan document which we possess.

At the beginning of the present century there was observed upon the linen wrappings of an Egyptian mummy, in the Museum at Agram in Austria, a quantity of ancient writings which proved to be in the Etruscan language; and from the character of the ink and other external features, it seems to have been written not long before the Christian era, by some Etruscan settlers in Egypt. If we were even yet able to translate any continuous portion of this book I should have liked to dwell upon it, for its possibilities are full of interest. As it is, I must content myself with saying that most of the small number of people who can be called Etruscan scholars believe, mainly from the fact that it contains the names of a number of deities, and was wrapped round a mummy, that it is a copy of the Liturgy used by the Etruscans for procuring the deliverance of a dead person from the penalties which we have seen pictured on their tombs.

The doctrine of Purgatory as a process of purification we have seen to be of Orphic origin; that is, it came from somewhere in the East or perhaps simply from Egypt,¹ and was known to the Greeks not later than the sixth century B.C. The first trace of its adoption by Christian communities is in writings of teachers like Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian,² in the third century A.D. But in all

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, London, 1929, iii. p. 10. "The Papyros of Nesi-Khensu . . . is . . . the copy of a contract which is declared to have been made between Nesi-Khensu and Āmen-Rā, 'the holy god, the lord of all the gods.' As a reward for the great piety of the queen, and her devotion to the interests of Āmen-Rā upon earth, the god undertakes to make her a goddess in his kingdom, to provide her with an estate there in perpetuity and a never-failing supply of offerings, and happiness of heart, soul and body, and the [daily] recital upon earth of the 'Seventy Songs of Rā' for the benefit of her soul in the Khert-Neter, or Underworld. The contract was drawn up in a series of paragraphs in legal phraseology by the priests of Āmen, who believed they had the power of making their god do as they pleased when they pleased."

² Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 6) says that 'God's punishments in Hades are saving and disciplinary, leading souls to conversion.' Tertullian (*de Carnis Res.* 43) in commenting on II Corinthians v. 8 says: 'for no-one who becomes absent from his body is immediately at home with the Lord, except by the prerogative of the martyrs, who are destined to stay in Paradise and not in the Lower World.' In *De Anima* (55-58) he expounds the same doctrine, that Martyrs go straight to Heaven, but that the rest of men

these passages there is no hint that fees paid by relatives after a man's death, or by himself before death or through his will, will have any effect upon his subsequent career.

The view taken by the noblest minds of the Catholic faith in the Middle Ages is finely illustrated by the reply given to Dante¹ by Vergil when he wonders why the souls in Purgatory should beg him to pray for them :

'Because the burning flame of love can complete in one moment all the satisfaction that should be rendered by the soul in Purgatory.'

In Dante's mind it is not the mere saying of prayers that can do the miracle, but the intense fire of love, of which prayer may be the symbol. But the form in which we find it among the Etruscans as in the papyros² of Nesi-Khensu, is the payment of fees to professional men whom you believe to be capable of working the miracle for you. And it is difficult to doubt that there is an historical connexion between this and the similar usage in the Roman Catholic church to-day,—at least if I am rightly informed that Masses for the Dead are recited on the payment of fees or in return for a gift to the Church. In any case it is certainly true to describe the practice as being intrinsically Etruscan, and Egyptian. It was spread over a great part of Italy under Etruscan influence long before Christ was born.

It is a commonplace of historians that intense superstition, especially superstition linked with fear, is linked also with cruelty ; and this is a feature in the Etruscan character, which though it found congenial expression in depicting the torments of the dead, was far older than the arrival of the Orphic doctrines in the fourth century B.C. ; and far younger too, as you will remind me, if you know Dante's picture of the torturing devils in the Inferno, some of whose implements, as we have seen,³ seem to have been directly suggested to him by the pictures at

wait in the Lower World for the day of the Lord (*sequestrari apud inferos in diem Domini*), undergoing such courses of punishment as will free them from sin.

¹ *Purg.* vi. 38 f.

Perchè fuoco d'amor compia in un punto
Ciò che dee soddisfar chi qui s'astalla.

² See p. 388, footnote.

³ See above, p. 385. The most horrible of all the tortures which Dante conceived is the perpetual devouring of the head of a murderer by his victim,

Corneto. The truth is that this side of Dante betrays his Tuscan blood. On this side he is the genuine descendant of the people who stoned to death in the market-place of Caere all the Phocæan captives whom they had taken at the naval battle of Alalia in the sixth century B.C.; and who in 358 B.C. put to death by sacrifice in cold blood, at Tarquinii, a body of 307 Roman captives. The Roman Dictator Sulla followed the Etruscan tradition, which his name¹ implies, by slaughtering six thousand Samnite captives in Rome in the hearing of the Senate in 83 B.C.

And there are other figures in Roman history who bear the same mark of Etruscan origin as Sulla, namely, a masculine name ending in *-a*, Ahala, Cinna, Perperna, Catilina, Casca, all known for their bloody deeds; Sisenna was the zealous supporter of the monster Verres. Others like Caecina and Ofella are known for acts of treachery. Add to these Mamurra, the luxurious and fraudulent bankrupt, the *decoctor Formianus* whom Catullus attacks.

There is one, and only one on the list, the Emperor Nerva, who can be named as a man of noble character. One other Etruscan, Maecenas, served Rome well at a crisis by his brilliant gifts of diplomacy and his faithful friendship to Vergil, which included the capacity of adopting Vergil's thoughts and impressing them upon Augustus. His private life, however, was typically Etruscan.

But it is not merely isolated individuals in whom this racial characteristic appears; it is well known to all students of Etruscan art that the subjects which the Etruscans chose from the Greek legends for decorative purposes in paintings, or vases, or to be chased on the backs of silver mirrors, or beautifully engraved on the precious stones set in rings or used for seals, were most frequently of a tragical kind, especially scenes of slaughter. Let me give you one instance only (Fig. ix.) from the so-called François tomb at Vulci. It represents² the slaughter of two Trojan captives by Achilles at the tomb of his friend Patroclus; one of the Trojans, whose hands are bound behind him,

Canto xxx. 1 and xxxiii. 76; and this seems to have been suggested by a misunderstanding, though a misunderstanding in form rather than in spirit, of the picture of Pluto wearing a helmet consisting of a wolf's head showing the teeth, and eyes that seem still alive and flashing with malevolence.

¹ W. Schulze, *Lat. Eigennamen*, p. 417.

² Reproduced by Poulsen, *Etrusc. Tomb-painting*, p. 12; the next he gives on p. 54, from the *Tomba degli Auguri* at Corneto.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

is seated and Achilles is in the act of driving his sword into his throat. The painter has been at pains to represent the splashes of blood ; the next victim stands with his hands bound, looking on with horror and awaiting his turn, guarded by the warrior Ajax. The ghost of Petroclus is looking on at the vengeance and so is Agamemnon, and two characteristic Death-Gods of the Etruscans, Vanth with the black wings, and Charu with his hammer. In the Etruscan section of Furtwaengler's splendid collection¹ of ancient gems, a considerable number represent scenes of human sacrifice ; one of them pictures the dismemberment of a small child.

Perhaps you will defend this by saying that these scenes are dramatic and might attract the imagination of a serious artist ; take now one other picture (Fig. x.) of a different kind representing a scene of sport. You will wonder what is happening ; and so far as I know that particular kind of sport is not recorded of anyone but the Etruscans. One of the two rivals has his legs entangled in a lasso which the other has thrown, and his head is covered by a sack with which the other has managed to blindfold him ; and while he is at this disadvantage, he is being attacked by a bloodhound who has already inflicted on him two serious wounds from which the blood is streaming. In a companion picture, which apparently represents an earlier part of the contest, the man with the dog and the lasso is running away ; he has no other weapons ; but by some clever turn he catches his opponent with the results we have just seen. You will say perhaps that that is not so desperate a sport as the fighting of gladiators with which we are familiar in Rome. Perhaps not, but where did the gladiators come from ? They were first introduced into Rome at the funeral of a man of Etruscan blood and Etruscan name, D. Junius Pera, in the year 264 B.C. ; such combats at funerals had long been in use in Etruria, as we know from many pictures in Etruscan tombs. And the habit of putting to death prisoners of war, if possible as a public show, was permanently represented in Rome at the end of every triumphal procession, an institution which we know in all its details to have been introduced by the Etruscan kings. As soon as the procession reached the foot of the Capitol, those prisoners of war who had been reserved

¹ *Antike Gemmen*, Berlin, 1900, p. 229. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, Ed. 2 (1878), ii. p. 92, gives a long list of murderous scenes from Etruscan vases.

to grace the victorious general's triumph, and had marched in the procession before him in his chariot, were led aside and put to death in cold blood; the whole procession paused while this was done.

The Etruscanised deities who presided over the temples of the Capitol would not receive the thanks of the triumphant general until their ears had been filled with the sweet sounds of death by the sword. The Etruscan, no less than the dark rulers of Dahomey before the advent of British rule, was convinced that freshly shed blood brought joy to the spirit of the dead. These bloody customs lasted on in Rome, in spite of the disapproval of humaner spirits like Cicero and Vergil, until four centuries later the gladiatorial shows were suppressed by Christian protest. "*Tantum potuit suadere malorum*" religio Etrusca, drawn like the rest of their mentality from the lower stratum of the eastern world.

There is one of the monuments of Etruscan art which seems to illustrate better than anything else their prevailing temper. It is the famous statue of Apollo at Veii. I need hardly remind you that to the Greeks the name of Apollo meant everything that was wise, enlightened and humane,—music, medicine, art, and poetry. Nor need I stop to illustrate this from the many beautiful representations of this god which the Greeks have left to us. The Etruscan statue was found in 1916 in the ruins of Veii and belongs (so archæologists tell us) to 520 or 510 B.C., long before the Orphic doctrines had spread in Etruria.

It is described thus by Mr. Randall Maciver, who will not be suspected of any prejudice against the Etruscans, and who prefixes it to his lucid account of them,¹ "I would say that this is the most perfect incarnation of an entirely remorseless, inhuman god that can be imagined; the severity, the ruthlessness, the terrifying beauty haunt the memory." What Mr. Maciver calls "beauty," I confess I should rather describe as a vulgar leer, though the details of drapery and flesh are beautifully executed. The whole figure shows what became of Greek ideas when they were transferred to Etruscan minds.

Nothing can remove this stain of cruelty from the character of the ancient Etruscan; yet he was after all a human being, and it will perhaps leave you with a fairer conception of what a real Etruscan

¹ *The Etruscans*, Oxford, 1927.

was like if we end by recalling one of the most splendid of the pictures in Vergil's Gallery of Warriors, that of the Etruscan tyrant Mezentius.

Let us first observe that Vergil knew a great deal about the Etruscans, not merely because of his study of the different sides of life in all ancient Italy, but especially because he was a native of Mantua, a city which was Etruscan in foundation and whose chief families, as he himself tells¹ us, were of Etruscan blood. We know that at Rome the banquets of the Pontiffs were like those of our London City Companies, famous for their luxury; and no doubt the same was true at Mantua. From an inscription² of Vergil's time we learn that the priestly order enjoyed a high rank in society, so that a benefactor entrusts the capital sum of his bequest to the College of Pontiffs, who would act as his trustees. And of the great Etruscan profession of soothsayer Vergil had definite opinions; he had seen not merely their fallibility (Rhamnes, *Aen.* ix. 327-328), but their presumptuous interference in grave matters (Tolumnius, xi. 429; xii. 258 and 461), and their treachery (Calchas, ii. 123-125). In the *Georgics* (ii. 193) he describes the choicest kind of wine as that in use at sacrifices, "when the fat Etruscan has blown his ivory trumpet at the altar," playing the trumpet and the tibia in public being arts reserved for Etruscans.³ And in the tenth Book of the *Aeneid*, the only one in which there is any approach to the brutality of speech regular between the warriors in Homer, there is only one example⁴ of coarse personal invective, and it is put into the mouth of Tarchon, the Etruscan commander, who, in order to rouse his troops from their cowardice, reviles their private characters quite in the style of Achilles, when he addresses⁵ Agamemnon as 'drunken, dog-eyed devourer of the people.'

In Mezentius we have Vergil's study of an Etruscan king. We hear of him first from the lips of Evander, his civilised neighbour of Greek birth, who tells Aeneas why Mezentius has been cast out by his subjects and has fled with his son and a few followers for refuge to his friend Turnus, the Rutulian prince. Mezentius had been

¹ *Aen.* x. 203.

² *C.I.L.* v. 4057.

³ See the amusing story of the strike of the Etruscan *Tibicines*, in Livy, x. 30; and Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 53 ff.

⁴ *Aen.* xi. 732-740.

⁵ *Il.* i. 225 ff.

guilty of shameful murders and other tyrannical acts in his stronghold of Caere ; among them the practice of killing his victims by a peculiar form of torture, of which I seem to have read when I was younger as being still in use by a certain race in Eastern Europe. Mezentius bound his living victim tightly, face to face to a corpse, and left him to die of starvation and the horrible embrace.

But when Mezentius appears on the battle-field we realise that if he has the cruelty or more than the cruelty of a beast, he has also the courage. He is compared to a wild boar at bay and to a hungry lion who has just slain a stag, his jaws still wet with its blood. All his speeches are brutal and impious ; while other warriors pray to their favourite god to help them, he prays to his own right hand, and vows his own son to be the trophy of his victory,¹ clothed in the spoil that he hopes to take from the body of his enemy, the pirate Aeneas. In their encounter the spear of Aeneas pierces his shield and wounds him in the thigh, but he is saved by his brave young son Lausus who dashes in upon Aeneas, and thus gives his father time to retreat ; the followers of Lausus rush up, and for the moment Aeneas is hard pressed, though they cannot pierce his defence. He warns Lausus not to persist and offers to let him go free, with words of admiration for the dutiful courage which the young prince has shown, but Lausus refuses and rushes upon his doom. Aeneas stays the fighting and with words of pity lifts the boy's body from the ground and with his own hands surrenders it for burial to his followers. Meanwhile Mezentius is resting at a distance, with his great horse Rhaebus beside him, until at length he receives² the news of his son's death. How does he greet it ?

“ Did such besetting love of life, my son,
Possess me that I let the foe's right hand
With all its weight fall upon thee, on thee ?
Have thy wounds saved me ? By thy death live I
Thy father ? Never knew I till this hour
The smart of exile ; now the curse comes home,
Now the wound pierces deep. And none but I,
None but thy sire, oh son, has shamed thy name,

¹ *Tropaeum Aeneae*, ‘ a sign of the defeat of Aeneas ’ ; but since the word is more often used with the genitive of the person who erects the trophy (e.g. Hor. *Od.* ii. 9. 19), I am inclined to wonder whether Vergil did not mean the words to be ambiguous, and so suggest a bad omen.

² *Aen.* x. 846.

Driven by a people's hatred from the throne
 And sceptre of my fathers. I alone
 Owed expiation to my fatherland;
 Sword, fire or torture should have first annealed
 This guilty spirit. Yet do I survive?
 Have I not yet quit light and humankind?
 But I shall quit them." And with that he rose
 Upon his stricken knee; and though the pain
 Of that deep wound oppressed him, undismayed
 He bade them bring his horse, his pride of old,
 His trusty comrade who had brought him home
 Victor from all his warfare, and who now
 Gazed sadly on his lord. Then spake the king:
 "Too long my horse, if ought that's long there be,
 For creatures born to perish, we have lived,
 Either to-day thou shalt have yonder arms,
 Stained with Aeneas' blood, crowned with his head,
 And so avenge the slaughter of my son,
 Or, if no might of ours can force a way
 To reach that triumph, die with me thy master.
 For ne'er, brave steed, I know, wilt thou endure
 The voice of strangers or a Trojan lord."

So he rides to the last conflict, in which Aeneas hurls his spear full into the forehead of the horse, who falls to the ground, leaving his master defenceless. Mezentius welcomes death, begging only that his body be buried so that his own people may not wreak their vengeance upon it.

In two things Mezentius wins our admiration: his undaunted courage, and the affection he has for his son and his horse. He has nothing of what we call religion: as he says, he 'stays for no god's bidding.' And yet he shares with his countrymen one kind of belief, just that which we have seen so fully depicted in their tombs, the belief in some power that rejoices to inflict the cruellest punishment; and that is why he owns his defeat. The death of his son brings him to confess his own ill-deeds. That conception of the deity as being above all a lover of vengeance and human blood, we know well in other races of the East, Jehovah in Abram's first conception of him, Juggernaut, Baal, Moloch and the rest. And it is the grim distinction of the Etruscans to have brought it with them to Italy and to have stamped it deeply upon the imagination of the people of Rome, and upon the form of Christianity which Rome was to convey to the world.

THE GOSPEL PARABLES.¹

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THE parables are the most characteristic element in the teaching of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Gospels. Their interpretation has been the subject of much dispute. In the traditional teaching of the Church for centuries they were treated as allegories, in which each term stood as a cryptogram for an idea, so that the whole had to be de-coded term by term. A famous example is Augustine's interpretation of the Good Samaritan.

A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho: Adam himself is meant; *Jerusalem* is the heavenly city of peace, from whose blessedness Adam fell; *Jericho* means the moon, and signifies our mortality, because it is born, waxes, grows old, and dies. *Thieves* are the devil and his angels. *Who stripped him*, namely, of his immortality; *and beat him*, by persuading him to sin; *and left him half-dead*, because in so far as man can understand and know God he lives, but in so far as he is wasted and oppressed by sin, he is dead; he is therefore called *half-dead*. The *priest* and *Levite* who saw him and passed by, signify the priesthood and ministry of the Old Testament, which could profit nothing for salvation. *Samaritan* means Guardian, and therefore the Lord Himself is signified by this name. The *binding of the wounds* is the restraint of sin. *Oil* is the comfort of good hope, *wine*, the exhortation to work with fervent spirit. The *beast* is the flesh in which He deigned to come to us. The being *set upon the beast* is belief in the incarnation of Christ. The *inn* is the Church, where travellers are refreshed on their return from pilgrimage to their

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 18th November, 1931.

heavenly country. The *morrow* is after the resurrection of the Lord. The *two pence* are either the two precepts of love, or the promise of this life and of that which is to come. The *innkeeper* is the Apostle (Paul). The supererogatory payment is either his counsel of celibacy, or the fact that he worked with his own hands lest he should be a burden to any of the weaker brethren when the Gospel was new, though it was lawful for him "to live by the Gospel."—(*Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, II. 19—slightly abridged.)

This interpretation of the parable in question prevailed down to the time of Archbishop Trench, who follows its main lines with even more ingenious elaboration; and it is still to be heard in sermons. To the ordinary person of intelligence who approaches the Gospels with some sense for literature this mystification appears quite perverse.

Yet it must be confessed that the Gospels themselves give encouragement to this allegorical method of interpretation. Mark interprets the parable of the Sower, and Matthew those of the Tares and the Net, on just such principles; and both attribute their interpretations to Jesus Himself. It was the great merit of Adolf Jülicher, in his work *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (1899-1910) that he applied a thoroughgoing criticism to this method, and showed, not that the allegorical interpretation is in this or that case overdone or fanciful, but that the parables in general do not admit of this method at all, and that the attempts of the evangelists themselves to apply it rest on a misunderstanding. The crucial passage is Mark iv. 11-20. Jesus, in answer to a question of His disciples, says: "To you are granted the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, but to those outsiders everything comes in parables, in order that they may look and look but never see, listen and listen but never understand, lest they should be converted and forgiven"; and then follows the interpretation of the parable of the Sower. Now this whole passage is strikingly unlike in language and style to the majority of the sayings of Jesus. Its vocabulary includes (within this short space) seven words which are strange to the rest of the Synoptic record.¹ All seven are character-

¹ Μυστήριον, οἱ ἔξω, πρόσκαιρος, ἀπάτη, are not found in the Synoptics outside this passage; πιθυ μία is found elsewhere only in Luke xxii. 15, in a different sense; διωγμός and θλίψις are found only in Mark x. 30, and the Synoptic Apocalypse, passages which are for other reasons regarded as secondary.

istic of the vocabulary of Paul, and most of them occur also in other apostolic writers. These facts create at once a presumption that we have here not a part of the primitive tradition of the words of Jesus, but a piece of apostolic teaching. Further, the interpretation offered is confused. The seed is the Word: yet the crop which comes up is composed of various classes of people. The former interpretation suggests the Greek idea of the "seminal word"; while the latter is closely akin to a similitude in the Apocalypse of Ezra: "As the farmer sows over the ground many seeds, and plants a multitude of plants, but in the season not all that have been planted take root, so also of those who have been sowed in the world not all shall be saved" (2 Esdras viii. 41). Two inconsistent lines of interpretation have been mixed up. Yet we may suppose that the Teller of the parable knew exactly what He meant by it. Again, the idea that the parable is a veiled revelation of the coming behaviour of those who heard the teaching of Jesus, under temptation and persecution, is bound up with the view expressed in 11-12 about the purpose of parables. According to these verses they were spoken in order to prevent those who were not predestined to salvation from understanding the teaching of Jesus. This is surely connected with the doctrine of the primitive Church, accepted with modifications by Paul, that the Jewish people to whom Jesus came were by divine providence blinded to the significance of His coming, in order that the mysterious purpose of God might be fulfilled through their rejection of the Messiah. That is to say, this explanation of the purpose of the parables is an answer to a question which arose after the death of Jesus, and the failure of His followers to win the Jewish people. But that He desired not to be understood by the people in general, and therefore clothed His teaching in unintelligible forms, cannot be made credible on any reasonable reading of the Gospels. The probability is that the parables could only have been taken for allegorical mystifications in a non-Jewish environment. Among Jewish teachers the parable was a common and well-understood method of illustration, and the parables of Jesus are similar in form to Rabbinic parables. The question therefore, why He taught in parables, would not be likely to arise, still less to receive such a perplexing answer. In the Hellenistic world, on the other hand, the use of myths, allegorically interpreted, as vehicles of esoteric doctrine, was widespread,

and something of the kind would be looked for from Christian teachers. It was this as much as anything, which set interpretation going on wrong lines.

What then are the parables, if they are not allegories? They are the natural expression of a mind that sees truth in concrete pictures rather than conceives it in abstractions. The contrast between the two ways of thinking may be illustrated from two passages in the Gospels. In Mark xii. 33 a scribe is introduced, who expresses the sentiment: "To love one's neighbour as oneself is better than all burnt offerings and sacrifices." In Matt. v. 23 the same idea is expressed thus: "If you are offering your gift at the altar, and remember there and then that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar, and go and get reconciled with your brother first of all; then come and offer your gift." This concrete, pictorial mode of expression is thoroughly characteristic of the sayings of Jesus. Thus instead of saying, "Beneficence should not be ostentatious," He says, "When you give alms, do not blow your trumpet"; instead of saying, "Wealth is a grave hindrance to true religion," He says, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." In such figurative expressions the germ of the parable is already present.

At its simplest the parable is a metaphor or simile drawn from nature or common life, arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness, and leaving the mind in sufficient doubt about its precise application to tease it into active thought. Of course our common language is full of dead metaphors: a thought "strikes" us; young men "sow wild oats"; politicians "explore avenues." Such dead metaphors are often a sign of mental laziness and a substitute for exact thought. But a living metaphor is another thing. "Where the carcass is the vultures gather"; "a town set on a mountain cannot be hidden"; "make yourselves purses that do not wear out"; "if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch." Now such a simple metaphor may be elaborated into a picture, by the addition of detail. Thus: "They do not light a lamp and put it under the meal-tub, but on a lamp-stand; and then it gives light to all in the house"; "No one sews a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old coat, else the patch pulls away from it—the new from the old—and there is a worse tear"; "Why do you look at the splinter in your brother's eye, without

noticing the plank in your own eye? How can you say to your brother, let me get the splinter out of your eye, when there is a plank in your own?"; or to take a simile, "To what shall I compare this generation? It is like children sitting in the market-place and calling to one another, We played the pipes for you and you would not dance; we set up a wail for you and you would not weep!" This is the type of parable which is called by the Germans *Gleichniss*, i.e. similitude. It is a common type, including, for example, the Son asking for Bread, the Eye the Light of the Body, the Sons of the Bridechamber, the Fig-tree as Herald of Summer, and other familiar parables. Or again, the metaphor (or simile) may be elaborated into a story instead of a picture, the additional details serving to develop a situation. This is what the Germans call *Parabel*, the parable proper. The story may be a very short one; e.g., "The Kingdom of God is like leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened." Very little longer are the parables of the Lost Sheep and Lost Coin, the Hid Treasure and the Costly Pearl, the Mustard-seed, the Seed Growing Secretly and the Two Sons. Somewhat longer are the Two Houses, the Sower, the Importunate Friend, and some others. And finally we have full-length "*novellen*" like the Money on Trust, the Unforgiving Servant, the Labourers in the Vineyard and the Two Debtors.

It cannot be pretended that the line can be drawn with any decision between these three classes of parable—the *Bildwörter*, the *Gleichnisse*, and the *Parabel*, to adopt Bultmann's terms. If we say that the first class has no more than one verb, the second more than one verb, in the present tense, and the third a series of verbs in the historic tense, we have a rough grammatical test, and this corresponds to the fact that the similitude on the whole tends to describe a typical or recurrent case, the parable a particular case treated as typical. But one class melts into another, and it is clear that in all of them we have nothing but the elaboration of a single comparison, all the details being designed to set the situation or series of events in the clearest possible light, so as to catch the imagination.

This leads us at once to the most important principle of interpretation. The typical parable, whether it be a simple metaphor, or a more elaborate similitude, or a full-length story, presents one single point of comparison. The details are not intended to have independent

significance. In an allegory, on the other hand, each detail is a separate metaphor, with a significance of its own. Thus in the *Pilgrim's Progress* we have the episode of the House Beautiful. It is a story of the arrival of belated travellers at a hospitable country house. Commentators even undertake to show us the actual house in Bedfordshire. But in the story the maid who opens the door is Discretion, the ladies of the house are Prudence, Piety and Charity, and the bedchamber is Peace. Or to take a biblical example, in Paul's allegory of the Christian warrior the girdle is Truth, the breastplate Righteousness, the shoes Peace, the shield Faith, the helmet Salvation, and the sword the Word of God. On the other hand, if we read the parable of the Importunate Friend, it would be obviously absurd to ask who is represented by the friend who arrived from a journey, or the children who are in bed. These and all the other details of the story are there simply to build up the picture of a sudden crisis of need, calling for an urgency which would otherwise be untimely and even impertinent. Similarly in the parable of the Sower the wayside and the birds, the thorns and the stony ground are not, as Mark supposed, cryptograms for persecution, the deceitfulness of riches, and so forth. They are there to conjure up a picture of the vast amount of wasted labour which the farmer must face, and so to bring into relief the fact that success in one part of his work makes up amply for all the loss.

The object before the writer of an allegory is of course to tell his tale so that it reads naturally as such, even when the interpretation is out of sight. But this needs great skill, and it is scarcely possible to keep it up for long. The interpretation will show through. Thus to return to the House Beautiful, Bunyan has shown great skill in introducing the natural incidents of a short stay at a country house. Among other things, the ladies display, very naturally, the family pedigree, which one still sees framed and hung in some old-fashioned houses. But here theology breaks in: the pedigree showed that the Lord of the house "was the Son of the Ancient of Days, and came by an eternal generation." With less skilful allegorists the story often becomes sheer nonsense, and to make sense of it the details must be transposed into the ideas which they signify. Thus Paul, who is a bungler in his use of illustration, gives an allegorical story of a gardener who lopped off the branches of an olive tree, and grafted

in their place shoots of wild olive. The lopped branches, however, he kept by him, and after the wild grafts had "taken" he once more grafted the olive-branches into the stock. A curious piece of horticulture ! But it is all intelligible if we bear in mind that the olive-tree is the people of God ; the lopped branches, the unbelieving Jews ; the wild-olive shoots, the Gentile Christians.

In the parables of the Gospels, however, all is true to nature and to life. Each similitude or story is a perfect picture of something that can be observed in the world of our experience. The processes of nature are accurately observed and recorded ; the actions of persons in the stories are in character ; they are either such as anyone would recognize as natural in the circumstances, or, if they are surprising, the point of the parable is that such actions *are* surprising. Thus there is no doubt something surprising in the conduct of the employer who pays the same wage for one hour's work as for twelve, but the surprise of the labourers at being treated so gives point to the story. Even in parables where some commentators have suspected that unnatural incidents have been introduced with an eye on their interpretation, further reflection will sometimes show that under the conditions presupposed they are not after all unnatural. Thus from Jülicher onwards commentators have criticized the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen on the ground that in real life defaulting tenants do not kill the rent-collector and are not in turn put to death by their landlord as a preliminary to re-letting. No doubt in England or Germany such a course of events is unusual, although in our young days we used to hear about the Irish peasant who would "lurk behind a hedge to pay his rent in slugs" ; and American employers have been known to shoot down their workmen on strike. But Judea was a disaffected province ; land in the provinces was often held by Roman senators as absentee landlords. Such landlords, we may suppose, were not popular. I cannot think that the first hearers of the parable would have thought it strange that agrarian discontent should take the form of armed revolt ; and if Marcus Brutus as a private citizen could bring an army to collect his debts from the corporation of the city of Salamis, it would hardly be thought inconceivable that the Lord of the Vineyard should resort to a particularly violent form of forcible eviction. I would not deny that here and there interpretation has intruded itself into a parable. But if the parables are taken as

a whole, their realism is remarkable. I have shown elsewhere¹ what a singularly complete and convincing picture the parables give of life in a small provincial town—probably a more complete picture of *petit-bourgeois* and peasant life than we possess for any other province of the Roman Empire except Egypt, where papyri come to our aid. Now there is a reason for this realism of the parables of Jesus. It arises from a conviction that there is no mere analogy, but an inward affinity, between the natural order and the spiritual order ; or as we might put it in the language of the parables themselves, the Kingdom of God is intrinsically *like* the processes of nature and of the daily life of men. Jesus therefore did not feel the need of making up artificial illustrations for the truths He wished to teach. He found them ready-made by the Maker of man and nature. That human life, including the religious life, is a part of nature is distinctly stated in the well-known passage beginning “Consider the fowls of the air. . . .” Thus since nature and super-nature are one order, you can take any part of that order and find in it illumination for other parts. Thus the falling of rain is a religious thing, for it is God who makes the rain to fall on the just and the unjust ; and on the other hand the coming of the Kingdom of God is the same thing, at a higher level, as the ripening of the harvest. The death of a sparrow can be contemplated without despairing of the goodness of nature, because the bird is “not forgotten by your Father” ; and on the other hand the love of God is present in the natural affection of a father for his scapegrace son. This sense of the divineness of the natural order is the major premiss of all the parables, and it is the point where Jesus differs most profoundly from the outlook of the Jewish apocalyptists, with whose ideas He had on some sides so much sympathy. The orthodox Rabbis of the Talmud are also largely free from the gloomy pessimism of apocalypse, and hence they can produce true parables where the apocalyptists can give us only frigid allegories ; but their minds are more scholastic, and their parables tend to have a larger element of artificiality than those of the Gospels.

A further point of contrast between the parable and the allegory is that while the allegory is a merely decorative illustration of teaching

supposed to be accepted on other grounds, the parable has the character of an argument, in that it entices the hearer to a judgment upon the situation depicted, and then challenges him, directly or by implication, to apply that judgment to the matter in hand. This character of the parable is emphasized by Bultmann, and is well worked out by Dr. A. T. Cadoux in his recent book *The Parables of Jesus*. There is a striking example of this use of the parable in the Old Testament, where Nathan tells David the story of the poor man's ewe lamb which was stolen by the rich man. David falls neatly into the trap, exclaiming indignantly, "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this is worthy to die"; whereupon Nathan retorts: "Thou art the man!" That the parables of Jesus had a similar intention is sometimes shown by the way in which they are introduced. Thus: "What do you think? if a man has a hundred sheep. . . ." "What do you think? a man had two children; he came to the first and said; My boy, go and work in the vineyard to-day. He answered, Yes, Sir; but did not go. He went to the second and said the same. He answered, I will not; but afterwards he changed his mind and went. Which of the two did his father's will?" But whether they are so introduced or not, the question is implicit. The way to an interpretation lies through a judgment on the imagined situation, and not through the de-coding of the various elements in the story.

Jülicher and his followers, then, have done great service in teaching us how to take the first step towards the understanding of the parables. It is to accept the story as a piece of real life, and form our judgment upon it. What is the next step? Those who follow Jülicher's method tend to make the process of interpretation end with a generalization. Thus we may take the parable of the Money on Trust (Talents or Pounds). A person with capital to invest was so cautious that in a time of fluctuating values he preferred to hoard the sum in specie rather than risk its loss. That is something that might well happen. We should feel such caution to be in any case selfish, and possibly to savour of cowardice. But if the capital belonged to someone else, and was entrusted to the person in question expressly for the purpose of investing it to his employer's advantage, we see that his caution, or his cowardice, led him into a breach of trust befitting no honourable man. That is our judgment on the situation. What then is the application? "We must vote for the broadest possible

application," says Jülicher ; "fidelity in all that God has entrusted to us." By taking this line, he has happily delivered us from questions whether the talents represent the Gospel, the true doctrine, ecclesiastical office, or bodily and spiritual capacities, with which the earlier exegetes concerned themselves ; and equally from modern attempts to make the parable into an instruction to Christians to invest their money wisely, and incidentally into a justification for the capitalist system ! But can we really be content with the pure generalization which Jülicher produces as the moral of the parable ? Is it much more than an ethical commonplace ?

Similarly the parable of the Sower leads to the judgment that a farmer's life is one involving much lost labour, but bringing nevertheless its sure reward. Are we to apply this in the form of the generalization that any kind of religious work is subject to the same conditions ? Or shall we say that the parable of the Hid Treasure teaches that one should always sacrifice a lower good for a higher ; that of the Watching Servants that one should be prepared for emergencies ; and that of the Lamp and the Meal-tub that truth will out ? This method of interpretation makes the parables to be forcible illustrations of eminently sound moral and religious principles, but undeniably its general effect is rather flattening. Was all this wealth of loving observation and imaginative rendering of nature and common life used merely to adorn moral generalities ? Was the Jesus of the Gospels just an eminently sound and practical Teacher, who patiently led simple minds to appreciate the great enduring commonplaces of morals and religion ? This is not the impression conveyed by the Gospels as a whole. There is one of His parabolic sayings which runs : "I have come to hurl fire upon the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled !" Few parables are more difficult to interpret with precision : none perhaps is clearer in its main purport. Indeed any attempt to paraphrase its meaning is both less clear and less forcible than the saying as it stands. It is exactly the phrase we need to describe the volcanic energy of the meteoric career depicted in the Gospels. The teaching of Jesus is not the leisurely and patient exposition of a system by the founder of a school. It is related to a brief and tremendous crisis in which He is the principal figure and which indeed His appearance brought about. Thus we should expect the parables to bear upon the actual and critical situation in which

Jesus and His hearers stood ; and when we ask after their application, we must look first, not to the field of general principles, but to the particular setting in which they were delivered. The task of the interpreter of the parables is to find out, if he can, the setting of a parable in the situation contemplated by the Gospels, and hence the application which would suggest itself to one who stood in that situation. It is the great merit of the book to which I have referred by Dr. A. T. Cadoux that it seriously essays this task.

We may first ask, how far the evangelists themselves help us thus to relate the parables to their setting. It might be thought that the place in which a parable comes in the order of the narrative would give a decisive clue. But in the first place, the evangelists sometimes give the same parable in different settings ; and secondly, recent research has tended to show that the materials of the Gospels were at first transmitted in the form of independent units, the framework being supplied by the evangelists who wrote not less than a generation after the time of Jesus. While I think myself that this judgment needs qualification, and that more of the framework was traditional than some recent writers suppose,¹ yet it is clear that we cannot without question assume that the setting in which we have a parable is its original setting in history. It is only where something in the parable itself seems to link it with some special phase of the ministry that we dare press the precise connection, as for instance in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, where no general conclusion would fit the case. More often we shall have to be content with relating it to the crisis as a whole.

Apart, however, from the setting of the parables in the narrative, the evangelists sometimes give an indication of the intended application. These usually brief applications stand on a different footing from the elaborate allegorizations of the Sower, the Tares and the Net, and they deserve more attention. It is true that some thirty parables are handed down without any such application, and these are distributed through all the four main strata of our Gospel material, Mark, Q, the special Matthaean matter and the special Lucan matter. This might be thought to create a certain presumption that the original tradition did not give applications. Moreover, we find that sometimes

¹ See my forthcoming article, *The Framework of the Gospel Narrative*, in an early number of the *Expository Times*.

a parable occurs without application in one Gospel and is supplied with one in another, as for example, the parable of the Lamp occurs in Mark and Luke without any application, but in Matthew is followed by the injunction, "In the same way your light must shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father in heaven"—an injunction which on the face of it is difficult to reconcile with the unsparing condemnation of those who do their righteousness to be seen of men. Again sometimes a parable occurs in two or more Gospels with different applications. Thus the parable of the Saviourless Salt, which in Luke has no application, is in Mark followed by the injunction, "Have salt in yourselves and be at peace with one another," and in Matthew is introduced by the words, "You are the salt of the earth." The two applications are not consistent, and we must suppose that Jesus intended some one definite application; hence either one, or more probably both applications are secondary, though I should myself suppose that Matthew's, while not original, points in the right direction. Sometimes different applications are supplied even by the same evangelist. Thus to the very difficult parable of the Unjust Steward Luke has appended a whole series of "morals": (i) "the sons of this age are more prudent in relation to their own time than the sons of light," (ii) "make friends by means of unrighteous wealth," (iii) "if you have not been honest with unrighteous wealth, who will entrust you with the true riches." We can almost see here notes for three separate sermons on the parable as text. It is possible that the clause with which the parable itself appears to close was the application in the earliest form of the tradition. The reporter of the parable added, "The Lord (Jesus) commended the unjust steward because he had acted prudently." In that case we can relate the parable to its setting in this way. The story tells of a man suddenly faced with a crisis which may mean utter ruin to him. Realizing the seriousness of his position, he does some strenuous thinking, and finds out a drastic means of coping with the situation. The hearers are invited to make the judgment: this man, scoundrel as he was, at least had the merit of taking a realistic and practical view of a crisis. They would then reflect that, as Jesus was constantly urging, they themselves stood before a momentous crisis—"the Sovereignty of God has come upon you!" Surely, He would have them conclude, it was only common sense to think strenuously and act boldly to meet

the crisis. This seems to me to be the most probable application of the parable, and in that case the evangelist's further comment, "The sons of this age are more prudent than the sons of light," is apt enough. On the other hand it is possible that the clause, "The lord commended the unjust steward" is actually part of the parable. The "lord" is then the character in the story, the defrauded master, and the statement that he commended his fraudulent steward is so palpably absurd that it provokes the hearers to deny it vigorously. In fact it is a strong way of putting the question, "What think ye?" In that case we must relate the story to its setting in this way. Here is a man who feathered his nest by sharp practice, and actually expected to be commended for it! Who then, among the hearers, or among people known to them, were acting in that way? The Sadducaic priesthood, says Dr. Cadoux, who made a merit of keeping in with the Romans by concessions which they had no right to make. The Pharisees, says Professor Henri Clavier,¹ who by a little easy almsgiving sought to make of their ill-gotten riches a "fire-escape." It is clear that in this case there was no certain clue to the application of the parable even when it reached the evangelist Luke, and that he has given a variety of current interpretations.

Again, the parable of the Money on Trust, for which we found Jülicher's interpretation inadequate, is supplied by Luke with an application: "He told them a parable, because He was near Jerusalem, and they thought the Kingdom of God was about to appear at once." This application does not appear in Matthew, who gives the parable at a different point in the narrative, and it probably formed no part of the original tradition; yet the context in which he has placed it shows that he too understood it as referring to the Second Advent of Christ. If this reference be accepted, then the intention of the parable is to lay upon the disciples the responsibility of using to the full all that their Master had entrusted to them during the interval before His return. But this is not without difficulties. The tendency of a critical study of the Gospels is to suggest that this concern about the interim before the Return of Christ does not belong to His original teaching, but is characteristic of the thought of the early Church at a time when the speedy Advent which they

¹ *Études Théologiques et Religieuses*, 1929, p. 333.

had expected receded into the future. If we had the parable before us without any setting, as it probably stood in the original tradition, the journey and return of the master would not seem to be the main point, but only a necessary part of the machinery of the tale. The element which challenges a judgment is the scene in which the unfaithful servant is confronted with his betrayal of trust and its consequences. And if we ask, who in the actual historical situation merited a similar judgment, the most natural answer would be the Jewish people or their leaders, who had received the inestimable treasure of the prophetic religion, and by a policy of selfish exclusiveness had reduced it to sterility, thus betraying their trust. The parable would then take its place among the numerous sayings in which Jesus deplored the failure of His own people, and expressed the conviction that as a nation they had no longer a part to play in the divine purpose. Thus the judgment scene in the story no longer hints at a "Day of Judgment" far in the future, but points the significance of an historical judgment which at that very time was working itself out before men's eyes.

Thus it is clear that the applications of parables given in the Gospels are sometimes nothing more than attempts of the evangelists themselves to provide a clue. The tendency of recent writers from Jülicher to Bultmann is to discount them all heavily. But it would be well not to go too far in this direction. To begin with, parables with applications, no less than parables without applications, occur all through our four main Gospel strata. While therefore any particular application may be the work of this or that evangelist, the primitive tradition underlying the variously differentiated traditions of Mark, Q, special Matthew and special Luke, was certainly acquainted with applied parables. Moreover, in many cases the application shows by its form that it had an organic connection with the parable itself from the earliest stage that we can trace. Even Bultmann, the most radical of recent critics, admits this in some cases. Thus in the parable of the Two Houses the application is so interwoven with the story, in Matthew and Luke alike, that it could not be eliminated without rewriting the story completely. And observe that the application thus suggested is not general but particular. We have not a simple contrast between hearing and doing. The actual listeners to the words of Jesus then and there will be as foolish, if

they do not follow them, as a builder who chooses a site on flood-land, with no firm foundation. Again, the parable of the Children in the Market Place, is followed immediately by a passage which by its form shows that it is a part of the same tradition :—

John came neither eating nor drinking, and you say,
He is possessed.
The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and you say,
See, a glutton and a drinker,
A friend of publicans and sinners !

We can hardly doubt that the earliest tradition contained this application of the parable to the people in their attitude to Jesus and John. It is clear that any attempt to work it out by way of an allegorical equivalence of terms breaks down. You cannot say, Jesus and His disciples are the piping children, John and his disciples the mourning children ; the picture does not fit. But the picture of petulant children who quarrel about their games suggests the frivolous captiousness of a generation who would not see that the movement inaugurated by John and brought to such an unexpected pitch by Jesus was a crisis of the first magnitude, but wasted their time in foolish carping at the ascetism of the one, and the good-companionship of the other. They fiddled while Rome was burning. Thus there are cases where, without necessarily solving the possibly unanswerable question whether we have the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, we may have confidence that the application of the parable came down with the parable itself in the earliest tradition, and therefore shows us how the parable was understood by those who stood near to the very situation which had called it forth.

There is another clue to the original significance of parables which has recently been emphasized by Sir Edwyn Hoskyns and Mr. Davey in their book *The Riddle of the New Testament*. It is this. While the figures used in the parables are taken from nature and common life, many of them are such as had already been used as symbols in the Old Testament ; and as Jesus was speaking to people versed in its imagery, He must be supposed in many cases to rely upon their catching the suggestion of the figures He used. Thus the parable of the Mustard-seed ends with a reference to a tree which gives shelter to the birds. This reference occurs both in the Marcan and in the Q version of the parable, and therefore may be taken as

belonging to the primitive tradition. Now in the Old Testament the image of a great tree that shelters the birds is used with reference to an empire under whose protection many nations live,¹ and in particular to the coming universal reign of "the people of the saints of the Most High" under the Sovereignty of God. We may therefore infer that any interpretation of that parable which sees in it merely an account of the inward growth of truth or goodness in the soul of man is wide of the mark. Jesus was surely speaking of the fortunes of the people of God in and through whom the Sovereignty of God in the world is realized. Again, take the saying, "Whoever says to this mountain, Be removed and hurled into the sea, and never doubts in his mind, but is confident that what he says is happening, he shall have it." It has been suggested,² I think persuasively, that "this mountain" is a reference to "the mountain of the Lord's House"—the Temple-mountain as the symbol of the established religion of Judaism. According to the prophets, it was to be lifted high above the hills.³ But to Jesus it has come to stand for the great obstacle to the realization of His aims. Yet for sheer faith the obstacle will disappear. Thus this little parable corresponds to the saying which was alleged against Him at His trial, "I will destroy this Temple." Taken as a general statement that faith can do anything, the saying has always been something of a difficulty; but as a parable of the faith in God through which Christ's followers would find "old things passed away and all become new," it fits the situation.

Similarly, a clue to the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen is found at once when we recall that in the Old Testament Israel is the vine, or the vineyard, of Jehovah; and in the parables of sowing and harvest there is surely always some reference to the recurrent Old Testament figure of the harvest of the world, the consummation of the divine purpose.

I have said nothing of those parables which present a special problem because they seem to drive at more points than one, such as the Prodigal Son, Dives and Lazarus, or the Matthaean version of the Great Feast. These would need more detailed consideration. Nor have I said anything about those which are merely exemplary

¹ Dan. iv. 9. Ezek. xvii. 22-23.

² By J. R. Coates, *The Christ of Revolution*, pp. 92-95.

³ Is. ii. 2 *sqq.*

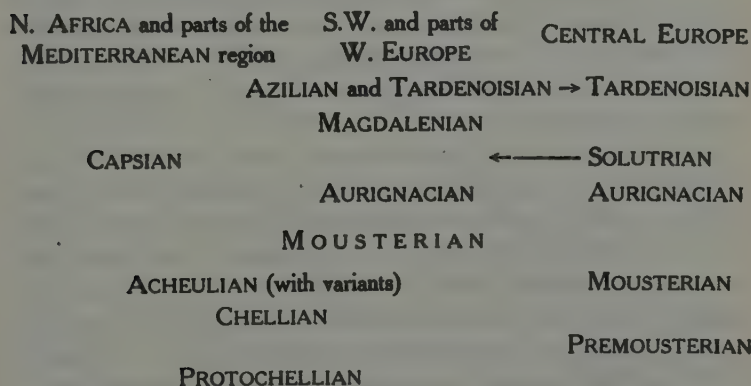
stories, such as the Good Samaritan and the Pharisee and the Publican. These are as a matter of fact confined to Luke, and the only interpretation or application they need is sufficiently expressed in the words, "Go thou and do likewise." I have had in view the great bulk of the parables, and I have tried to show that while Jülicher laid the foundation for a right understanding of them, his method needs to be supplemented by a serious attempt to relate the parables to their particular setting in the crisis which the ministry of Jesus created. That setting, so far as we can discover it, must determine the original meaning and application of any parable, even though it may be both legitimate and useful to look for the general in the particular, and so find a secondary application to ourselves.

AN EARLY CHAPTER OF THE STORY OF *HOMO SAPIENS*.¹

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FINDS relating to prehistoric man were first systematically studied in western Europe, and there naturally grew up, half unconsciously, an idea of a long course of evolution *in situ* with some notable movements from one part of our quadrant of the globe to another. By degrees a scheme of successive stages was worked out as follows² (in broad outline) :—



The Chellio-Acheulian sequence is characterised by the shaping of flint cores to form hand-axes of a few characteristic shapes showing very fine workmanship in many cases, and there are some smaller types of implement. Thanks especially to the work of Breuil, it has

¹Based upon a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 13th January, 1932.

²See Obermaier, H., *El Hombre fósil* (Madrid, 1925); Burkitt, M. C., *Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1925); Breuil, H., *Les subdivisions du paléolithique supérieur* (Congr. Internat. d'Anth. et d'Arch. préhist. (Genève, 1912)).

become increasingly clear that several industries (Clactonian, Micoquian, Levalloisian, etc.), often using flakes more than cores, are quasi-contemporary with the Acheulian, and the Levalloisian and Micoquian survive it. In North Africa, also, a number of cultures are recognised which complicate the Mousterian and the Capsian sequences there. Burkitt is responsible in large measure for suggesting the useful term Middle Palæolithic to cover the Mousterian industries between Acheulian and Aurignacian. The Piltdown skull, the Heidelberg jaw, and Pithecanthropus and *H. soloensis* from Java cannot be associated with facts of culture; Sinanthropus from China, which Elliot Smith,¹ as well as its discoverer, relates to Pithecanthropus, and to the Piltdown skull in a broad sense, is linked with what seems to be a pre-Mousterian culture. In Europe and the Mediterranean region there is nothing known of skeletal remains of man associated with the Chellio-Acheulian phases. With the Mousterian phase in Europe is associated a type of man, sometimes named Neanderthal race from the locality of the first specimen discovered. With the Aurignacian and Capsian cultures skeletal evidences of *homo sapiens* appear in some numbers and with certain diversities *inter se*, suggesting that this does not represent the birth of our race, but only its appearance or increase in numbers in our part of the world.

Asia, usually either Central Asia or South Central Asia, has often² been credited with being the original home of man, and there has been a tendency in some quarters to suggest that *homo sapiens* also spread thence. Studies of the distribution of cultures are still very incomplete pending further explorations, but, whatever may be the truth about the genus homo, the study of distribution thus far does not support the idea of such an origin for *homo sapiens*. It is useful in this connection to refer briefly to the distributions of certain of the cultures mentioned above.

The Chellio-Acheulian culture had a very wide distribution. In Europe it is characteristic of Spain, Portugal, France and south England, but its absence from south Italy and Sicily has been demon-

¹ See *Bull. Geol. Soc., China*, 1930 and 1931. Papers by Davidson Black, H. Breuil, W. C. Pei and G. Elliot Smith.

² Mathew, W. D., *Climate and Evolution*, "Annals N.Y. Acad. Sci.," 1915, especially pp. 209-14; Taylor, Griffith, *Racial Migration Zones*, "Human Biology," II, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1930).

strated afresh by Vaufrey.¹ Evidence is ceaselessly accumulating of its occurrence in Africa, save to the north-east of a line from Bougie to Gafsa, in the North, in parts of the Sahara, in and near the Nile Valley, in Somaliland, in Kenya, Tanganyika and south Africa. Its occurrence in Palestine is demonstrated, and it is highly probable that parts of Arabia also knew it. South India and Gujarat have yielded analogous implements, but apparently they are not yet known from far eastern, central or northern Asia; nor have they been found in eastern and central Europe. The relation of this culture to what is now the Arabo-African arid zone and its borders is evident, and its occurrence elsewhere may be interpreted with considerable probability as an extension from that zone or those borders, always allowing that the borders need to be interpreted broadly, particularly in Africa, in the present condition of knowledge.

The early cultures using flakes were originally ascribed in a general way to a Mousterian phase, which, from finds in Europe, was held to be associated with the Neanderthal race of man. Modern researches, in which Breuil has taken a leading part, but which have not yet reached the stage of systematic exposition, are introducing some modifications of attitude. The Neanderthal type of man is associated with some flake-tools. The classification of flake-tools is becoming much more complex and some of them are now held to have been contemporary with Chellian and Acheulian tools in Europe. There seems to be a possibility that, wherever the idea of using mainly flake-tools arose, it gained greatly in complexity and importance when it got into the zone in which the Chellio-Acheulian sequence was developing or had developed, and there are Acheulio-Mousterian transitions; while the use of large flakes for making fine Acheulian coups-de-poing is widespread, especially in Africa. The possibility of the origination of some flake cultures within the zone discussed for the Chellio-Acheulian series must not be dismissed, though the probabilities seem to be that much occurred rather to the north and east. We must look forward to a future clearing up of this matter of flake industries and a probable restriction in the use of the name Mousterian. In the meantime it must be recognised as unsafe for the present to

¹ Vaufrey, R., *Le Paléolithique italien*, "Archives Inst. Paléontologie humaine," Mem. 3, 1929; *ibid.*, *Observations de Paléontologie humaine*, "L'Anthropologie," xxxvii, 1927, pp. 151-4.

argue *ubi industria mousteriensis, ibi homo neanderthalensis*, as is sometimes done. It may be added here that one feature has been regarded as the great characteristic of developed Mousterian flaking, namely the preparation of a striking-platform before flaking, and the knocking of the prepared pointed flake off the core in such a way as to give a bulb of percussion near the base.

That the use of flakes of flint established itself as a general practice in the course of time is at least evident, and it is probable that some of the industries now being more or less distinguished from the general assemblage known as Mousterian were the parents of the next, and, for the purpose of this essay, the most important phase, namely that which Breuil first made distinct in France and named Aurignacian, with its variant in North Africa called Early Capsian. In these industries there appears a refinement and variation of technique. It is now known that, by the use of gum, these people were able to fasten stone implements into wood and so to make stone-barbed shafts, and ultimately arrows. They had knife-like implements and many other forms, no longer only the few characteristic of the earlier cultures. There had been a liberation of initiative. It showed itself in the rock drawings and drawings on bone, and the modelling in clay, stone and ivory that is so well known and that demonstrates it at least as well, as do the implements, which indicate, especially in the barbed shafts, a new mastery in hunting. The occupation sites seem to have been held for longer periods, and were often cave-shelters. Deliberate burial is far more often found, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this is not altogether the result of more lucky finds,—and with the dead there may be not only implements but ornaments such as shells. Leakey¹ has found in Kenya two fragments of pot, one of which was the baked clay-lining of a grass-basket. Until more pottery has been found with this culture it remains possible to argue that it is "accidental," *i.e.* that a clay-lined, or other, grass-basket got baked rather than that a woman set out to make and bake a pot. We are not, however, far from the origins of pottery in any case, and Leakey has actual pots from a later phase of this culture in East Africa, to which he has given the name of Elmenteitan, and which in his opinion

¹ Leakey, L. S. B., *The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony* (Cambridge, 1931).

still shows no sign of agricultural activities. On the whole, opinion as to modes of life is best kept fluid during the present rapid accumulation of knowledge.

At present it looks as though the Aurignacian, or early Capsian, culture had evolved and spread mainly within the area associated with the early Acheulian culture, especially in north and east Africa and southwest Asia. It spread to the Iberian peninsula, France, and Britain; but it also reached Moravia, maybe along some east European way from Palestine. In Europe the Aurignacian culture appears to succeed the Mousterian, in east Africa cultures closely allied to these two types occur apparently in the same period, but, in Kenya, do not appear to mix. In Rhodesia, Armstrong¹ finds them at first side by side and then, apparently, fusing. In S. Africa² one finds evidences of cultures that mingle the two traditions, and it seems probable that further study will give an analogous conclusion as regards a more or less corresponding industry in India. As Sollas long ago suggested, the stone industry of the native Australian of recent generations retains, intermingled, features of several of these palæolithic cultures, and probably traces of later ones.

Whatever may be the truth concerning the early home of the Mousterian group of industries, there seems little doubt that the Capsian-Aurignacian group belongs by birth to the same zone as the Chellio-Acheulian sequence. In both the European stations give indications, especially from their distribution, that their cultures were derived from the Arabo-African Zone already mentioned. The spreads from Africa to Europe occurred apparently *via* Mauretania and Spain, for, as already stated, there is no trace of these industries in S. Italy and Sicily. The straits of Gibraltar and those between Tunis and Sicily are now usually thought to have been open all the time.³

One of the most outstanding facts concerning the Capsian-Aurignacian group of industries is that the increased prevalence of definite

¹ Armstrong, A. L., *Rhodesian Archaeological Expedition*, "Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.," lxi., 1931, pp. 239-76.

² Goodwin, A., and van Riet Lowe, C., *Stone Age Cultures of S. Africa*, "Ann. S. Afr. Mus.," xxvii., 1929.

³ Vauflrey, R., *La question des Isthmes méditerranéens pléistocènes*, "Rev. Geogr. phys. et Geol. dyn.," 1929.

burials has led to the preservation of a number of skeletons; and these, wherever they are found, belong to *Homo sapiens*. Until quite recently it was necessary to state categorically that no previous traces of our species (in the strict sense) were known. The cultures mentioned above were held to be those of precursors. The problem is being rediscussed in the light of new finds which are awaiting full description. The skeleton found in 1913 by Reck¹ at Oldoway, Tanganyika, was undoubtedly a specimen of *Homo sapiens*, and it was extracted from a layer which subsequent research has shown contained tools of the Chellio-Acheulian series, though these tools could not be said to be definitely associated with the skeleton. Leakey² hesitated to accept the attribution of the skeleton to this layer until he had examined the site, but a visit convinced him of the truth of Reck's claim. Difficulties have suggested themselves to the minds of some who have read the notices of these discoveries. The skeleton is complete, as though it had been deliberately buried, and, if so, the question³ has been asked "Might it not be of long subsequent date and interred in that stratum?" Those who have worked on the spot claim that this latter possibility is ruled out. The matter seemed likely to remain in a state of suspense, when the situation was changed by the discovery of remains of *Homo sapiens* by Leakey⁴ near Lake Victoria in corresponding strata. This strengthens the case for accepting Reck's view of the Oldoway skeleton, but, for such an important conclusion, the evidence must be allowed to accumulate and the interpretation of every detail carefully checked to ensure general acceptance. All that can be fairly stated at present is that there are increasing possibilities of throwing back the appearance of *Homo sapiens* on earth far into the Lower Pleistocene, at any rate in Africa. Some who have meditated on the implements of the Chellio-Acheulian series have long felt that at any rate the best would be found to be

¹Reck, H., *Erste vorläufige Mitteilung über den Fund eines Menschenskelets (Oldoway)*, "Sitzgsber. der Ges. naturforsch Freunde" (Berlin, 1914).

²Leakey, L. S. B., Hopwood, A. T., Reck, H., Letter in "Nature," 24 Oct., 1931.

³Watson, D. M. S., and Cooper, C. F., Letter in "Nature," 27 Feb., 1932.

⁴Leakey, L. S. B., Notice in the "Times," London, 19 April, 1932, and later in "Nature," 14 May, 1932.

the work of *Homo sapiens*. This speculation is not yet verified, for, even if the new discoveries in Kenya and Tanganyika are found to have the implications claimed for them, all we shall know is that *Homo sapiens* was contemporary with the Chellio-Acheulian series of implements. Needless to say, the publication of full reports by Reck and Leakey is awaited with keen interest.

The very great majority of Neanderthal type skeletons belongs to Europe, and the type is claimed to have been akin to *Sinanthropus* from the Peking area. These points suggest that this variety of *Homo* belonged to the northern hemisphere, and, as already stated, we do not yet know whether the African Mousterian, or, to use Burkitt's term, Middle Palæolithic, tools were the work of this type or of *Homo sapiens* or of some other variety. There is nothing impossible in the simultaneous existence of two types, one belonging to Eurasia and the other to what is now the Arabo-African arid zone and its borders, with extensions to Europe and to S. Africa and India.

Whatever may be the ultimate result of the discussion on east African discoveries, we shall no longer be able to rule out the possibility of an early Pleistocene occurrence of *Homo sapiens*. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that when the specimens of *Homo sapiens* associated with Aurignacian cultures are studied they are seen to show some diversities. If *Homo sapiens* had a more or less unitary origin, as seems probable on many grounds, he must have had a longish history before Aurignacian times.

The skulls found with upper Palæolithic associations have recently been ably re-examined by Morant¹ with remeasurement.

Comparing the assemblage as a whole with almost any modern one, certain features stand out. The brain case is capacious and its length is specially great. Very much oftener than among most modern populations the cranial index (proportion of breadth to length) is decidedly low (74 or less). In several cases basi-bregmatic height is greater than the maximum breadth of the cranium, and in others it is probable that this relation would be found were the skulls complete enough. Often, again, there is marked prognathism, and zygomatic arches tend to project laterally. The orbits are very variable but

¹ Morant, G. M., *Studies of Palæolithic Man: IV. Biometric Study of Upper Palæolithic Skulls of Europe and of their relations to earlier and later types*, "Annals of Eugenics," IV., London, 1930, pp. 109 ff.

usually low (orbital index, or ratio of orbital height to orbital horizontal breadth, often 70 or less as against a common value of 85 and over in modern men).

Some contrasts between skulls and skeletons found with Aurignacian and Solutrian cultural associations should be noted.

The Cro-Magnon skull (No. 1, old man) is very long and moderately narrow, with its basi-bregmatic height considerably less than its maximum breadth; the face is short and very broad with powerful zygomatic arches, the nose is narrow and prominent, the chin projects strongly, the orbits are low, the brow is strong, but brow ridges do not stand out. Stature is high. The Combe-Capelle skull is also very long but extremely narrow, with the basi-bregmatic height greater than the maximum breadth; the face is long, but the zygomatic arches are strong, the nose is rather broad, the chin is rather weaker than in Cro-Magnon, the orbits are not so low as in the Cro-Magnon skull; the brow ridges are well developed. Stature is short.

One male skeleton from the Grotte des Enfants, Grimaldi, resembles that from Cro-Magnon in many features. Two males from the Barma Grande cavern, Grimaldi, have the short face, low orbits, and tall stature of the Cro-Magnon man, but have very high and extremely narrow heads of very large cranial capacity. One female from Barma Grande appears more like the Combe-Capelle man. The Grotte du Cavillon, Grimaldi, has yielded tall men, with broad faces, low orbits, and narrow noses, presumably akin to the Cro-Magnon man, but extremely narrow headed. On the other hand, the Grotte des Enfants, Grimaldi, at a lower layer, has yielded an old woman and an adolescent male with extremely narrow heads of marked basi-bregmatic height; many primitive characters have been claimed for these two specimens and they have unfortunately had the name "negroid" attached to them.

The Brünn skulls are of great length and height, and very narrow, with brow ridges strong. The Brūx skull shares the same characters on the whole.

Finds were made many years ago at Solutré, and further skulls of Aurignacian age were obtained there in 1923. These are much more mesaticephalic than most of the other skulls of Aurignacian age; one skull may even have been very brachycephalic, though in the case of this individual the measurement is very uncertain. Předmost in

Moravia has also yielded a number of skeletons supposed to be of Solutrian age. These are mostly very narrow headed, but the height is less than the maximum breadth in those cases in which it could be measured.

From deposits with Magdalenian associations one has some cases with smaller skull-length measurements and consequently moderately low cranial indices (*ca* 74-75) as from La Faye Bruniquel, Laugerie Basse, Sorde. But one also has the Chancelade skull in which extreme narrowness and height are most noteworthy, and the orbits are higher than in other Palæolithic skulls, with the possible exception of one of the females from Solutré. Two skulls from Obercassel, near Bonn, are of this date; the male one has a short broad face, narrow nose, and strong chin, combined with a high head, strong brow ridges, and short stature.

Without attempting to classify these early skulls and skeletons in the present state of knowledge, it seems fair to say that among them one notices what may be provisionally called a mode of growth much more prevalent than it is among all but a few populations of recent times. This gives the skull of extreme narrowness, and great relative height, often with a marked sagittal crest. Accompanying this one often finds strong brow ridges and strong zygomatic arches. The indications are that the temporal muscles were strong and the frequent prognathism (prominence of the mouth) supports this idea. Some, like the Cro-Magnon and related skulls, have a different growth, rather more in width and relatively less in height, but most of them, as well as those of the high type, are remarkable for their length. The finds of Solutré, however, indicate forms of skull more akin to those of the great majority in most European populations of the present day.

The matter obviously awaits accumulation of data, and, judging from the change in the amount of data in the last few years, there is considerable hope of much more knowledge in the next generation.

For the present, the above-mentioned growth-tendencies may be borne in mind; and the first, namely that in which there results a skull of marked narrowness and height with strong brows and, often, a sagittal crest, is of interest because it is well represented in both Europe and Africa in ancient deposits and burials, and because of its apparent survivals at the present day. It is evident from preliminary notices that the ancient skulls found by Leakey in Kenya include some of extreme

narrowness and considerable height, but a full account is not yet published.

The interest of these features in ancient skulls is much enhanced by certain points in the anatomy of some modern groups. The native Australian¹ has a very narrow head, which, in North Australia at any rate, is relatively high; the brow ridges are prominent, the cheek bones are strong, the jaws and teeth are powerful. Some old American skulls, including the Lagoa Santa² specimens, have a number of these characters. Broom³ has drawn special attention to the "Australoid" character of some South African skulls, ancient (but undated) and modern. The characters appear in Fiji,⁴ Papua,⁵ Ceylon⁶ and India and apparently among the Ainu⁷ and in prehistoric Annam.⁸ In fact, if one begins a line of migratory drift somewhere in the Arabo-African arid zone and follows it southward or south-eastward or eastward, one ultimately reaches groups in which this form of skull occurs. In Western Europe at the present day or for recent times the type has been noted in Sardinia by Duckworth,⁹ in Tras-os-Montes (Portugal) by Da Costa Ferreira¹⁰ and Giuffrida-Ruggeri,¹¹ in the Dordogne basin (France) by Collignon,¹² and in Wales

¹ Turner, Sir W., *Aborigines of Australia*, "Trans. R. S. Edin.," xlvii., 1908; xlviii., 1910.

² Rivet, P., *La Race de Lagoa Santa*, "Bull. Soc. Anthr.," vol. 2, 1908, p. 264.

³ Broom, R., *Craniology of Yellow-skinned Races of S. Africa*, "Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.," liii., 1923, p. 132.

⁴ Flower, Sir W. H., *Cranial Characters, Fiji*, "Journ. Anthr. Inst.," x., 1880, p. 153.

⁵ Haddon, A. C., *The Pygmy Question*; in Wollaston, A. F. R., *Pygmies and Papuans*, 1912; Seligman, C. G., *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910; Bijlmer, H. J. I., *The Papuan Race*, "3rd Pan-Pacific Science Congress" (Tokyo, 1926).

⁶ Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *The Veddas* (London, 1911).

⁷ Buxton, L. H. D., *Peoples of Asia* (London, 1925); Loewenthal, J., *Zum Ainu Problem*, "Mitt. Anthr. Ges. Wien." lx., 1930.

⁸ Bibliography in *La Préhistoire en Indochine*, H. Mansuy, Paris, Expos. Coloniale, 1931.

⁹ Duckworth, W. L. H., *Craniology of Sardinia*, "Z. für Morph. u. Anthr.," xiii., 1911, p. 429.

¹⁰ Da Costa Ferreira, A., *A Galiza e as Minho e Tras os Montes*, "Rev. d. Univ. d. Coimbra," ii., 1913, no. 1.

¹¹ Giuffrida-Ruggeri, V., *Antropologia é Archeologia*, "Arch. per l'Antr. é la Etn.," xvi. 1916, p. 14.

¹² Collignon, R., *La Dordogne, etc.*, "Mem. Soc. Anthr. Paris," i., 3, 1894, pp. 46 ff.

by the present writer,¹ and it doubtless occurs elsewhere. In all these cases it is only an element in a varied population, usually in sparsely peopled remote corners where only small numbers of really indigenous folk are available for observations. Collignon's observations in the Dordogne are the more remarkable in that he distinguishes this type from the "type Cro-Magnon" and he was working years before the discovery of the Combe-Capelle, Předmost, and other skulls. The numbers are not altogether satisfactory in the statistical sense, but, when one finds that a few comparable and remote districts have, in each case, a fair number of the extremely narrow-headed people, and adjacent districts do not yield more than one or two strays, if any at all, there is some ground for the argument that they are survivors of an ancient type preserved here and there in Western Europe, though usually submerged in that part of the world by other types. In Australia, where isolation has been fairly complete from early times until the nineteenth century, this skull form, on the other hand, is the typical one.

It is unfortunate that, twenty years ago, the name Neanderthaloid was suggested for this skull form though apparently without the intention of suggesting kinship with Neanderthal man. The name has, however, sometimes been taken to imply the idea of such kinship. This idea has been analysed and found wanting by several students, and one of the most complete of these analyses is that by Morant.²

We have now reached the position that a population of *Homo sapiens*, with a marked tendency towards a very long and narrow form of skull having a basi-bregmatic height as great as or greater than the breadth, was characteristic of the Aurignacian phase of culture in several, but not necessarily all, areas where that culture is found. It has further been argued that this culture extended its domain from what is now the Arabo-African arid zone and its borders, especially into Europe. The question is left open for the present as to whether Kenya colony should be included, broadly, in the borders of the arid zone just mentioned, or whether it should be looked upon as a very early home of *Homo sapiens*, or whether it is a region into which the

¹ Fleure, H. J., *Early Neanthropic Types*, "Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.," I., 1920, p. 12.

² Morant, G. M., *Studies of Palæolithic Man, II, A Biometric Study Neanderthaloid Skulls*, "Annals of Eugenics, II," 1927, p. 318.

Aurignacian culture extended southwards from the arid zone, much as it spread northwards into Europe. Later, attention was drawn to the fact that cultures which seem to blend Aurignacian and Middle Palæolithic (and sometimes other) contributions appear to be traceable in S. Africa, India, Australia, etc. The occurrence of the very narrow skull with height greater than maximum breadth, often with brow ridges, strong cheek bones and powerful jaws and teeth, among the people of remote corners of S. Africa and India and America, and among the Australians, is the last stage of the argument that suggests drift from the Arabo-African arid zone, and lingering survival in ultimate corners.

It is important, next, to consider the Arabo-African arid zone a little further. It now gets very occasional rainstorms locally here and there, with more moisture on the Tibesti and other highlands of the Central Sahara and the high western edge of Arabia, especially towards the south. Misses Caton Thompson and Gardner¹ have given preliminary accounts of fossil springs in the Kharga oasis, in which oasis some water can still be obtained from wells. In other words, there is evidence of former existence of many more springs than now function ; and finds of implements, these explorers show, indicate a marked diminution of water supplies about the end of the Palæolithic age, whenever that may have occurred. The great wadis of the western Sahara are thought² to have had water in them within human times, and finds of animal remains as well as of human implements seem to indicate strongly a former moister condition, though it may well be that large areas in the eastern Sahara, for example, were arid even then.

Students of climate make the point that, when large parts of Europe were covered by ice, the cold dense air over the ice would prevent the ingress of the cyclones and westerly winds which now give rain, especially in winter, to north-west Europe. In exceptionally cold spells even now it seems that these cyclones and westerlies are buffeted off western Europe and may get in along the Mediterranean. Under the much severer conditions of an Ice Age this may have been a much

¹ Misses G. Caton Thompson and E. Gardner at Roy. Geog. Soc., 9 May, 1932, and Roy. Anthr. Inst., 10 May, 1932.

² Augières, Capt., *Le Sahara occidental*, "Soc de Geogr." (Paris, 1919).

more marked effect, and north Africa and Arabia would be likely under such circumstances to get more moisture, at any rate on such parts as were so situated as to catch some rain. The lower temperature of high land in such a period would increase rainfall near the equator as well, and there is abundant evidence of former greater extension of glaciers, for example, on Mount Kenya. The argument has thus been built up by Gregory and, following him, by Brooks, Leakey and others that a glacial period in Europe and Central Asia would be quasi-contemporaneous with a pluvial period in Equatorial Africa.¹ Attempts have been made, and are being made, to try to equate particular glacial periods of the Northern Hemisphere with particular pluvial periods near the equator, and particular periods of moisture in north Africa. The period of Chellio-Acheulian sequence of culture in north and east Africa seems to have been one moist phase, and at some time in the history of that culture, the evidence shows it was in an interglacial interval, it extended its domain from the Arabo-African zone to Europe. Students would identify this interval with the period between the Mindel and the Riss glaciations of the Penck series; Simpson thinks it was probably the interval between the Riss and the Würm glaciations of the Penck scheme. Others, again, fear to apply the Penck scheme much beyond the Alps, and that fear is strengthened by the fact that research is showing the occurrence of considerable changes of land levels, not all in the same sense, in Pleistocene Europe, and apparently in Africa and Arabia as well. These difficulties, however, hardly touch the general idea of a correlation between glaciation in Europe and rainier conditions over large areas in Africa and probably in Arabia.

A speculative point may be added here. If, as seems probable, the Chellio-Acheulian culture-series originated in or near the Arabo-African zone discussed in this lecture, and from its distribution and some of its details one allows that it may be a part-ancestor of Aurignacian culture, it may well have been associated with close forerunners of *Homo sapiens* or, if Leakey makes his case, with that type himself. The advent of an interglacial period with drought in Africa and Arabia and relative warmth in Europe would help the spread of the

¹ See Report, Brit. Assoc. Adv. Sci., 1930: *Report of Discussion on relation between past Pluvial and Glacial Periods*, p. 371.

Chellio-Acheulian culture-series to Europe, but would probably give it a set-back in the Arabo-African zone. At this time, also, there were considerable geological changes going on in Kenya, no doubt creating further difficulties. The return of glacial conditions in Europe and of moister climate in Africa and Arabia may have been that which gave the arts the new impetus that is commonly known as the Aurignacian or, in places, the Caspian culture.

Another line of thought may be mentioned. Some features are common to most or all varieties of *Homo sapiens* known in living examples, though no one can say how far these characters differ from those of Neanderthal man or of other early breeds, unless they relate purely to the skeleton.

Our bodies produce, by digestion and by breakdown of muscle, a large amount of heat that, in the first place, maintains an internal temperature kept constant by a complex system of controls. The amount produced is, however, normally largely in excess of what is required for this purpose ; and the surplus must be dispersed mainly by evaporation and radiation. Effective but not excessive dispersal of heat is one of the prime conditions of health and well-being for all mankind. Now, so far as observations have gone, mankind in general finds that the process of heat-dispersal goes on most adequately, and yet without danger of excess, when the temperature of the atmosphere is a little over 60° F. ; that is, when there is a difference of 34° to 38° between it and the temperature of the blood. There are indications that the optimum is not exactly the same for all the functions of the body ; some seem to become more active with a rather lower temperature, and, for example, it is often said that a bright cold spell braces the nervous system provided the subject is well-fed and warmed.

The West Coast of Africa presents difficulties in this respect to both indigenous peoples and Europeans. It is very difficult to get rid of the heat the body produces because the atmospheric temperature is too high, and the air is so moist as to diminish evaporation. The west African shows a number of specialisations to meet these difficulties, and, from the fact that he is more comfortable in a more moderate temperature, we may draw confirmation of the view based on archæological study generally that *Homo sapiens* did not originate in a hot moist climate. We infer, on the other hand, that he did originate in

a temperate climate, and can urge that the adjustment to a temperature-difference of 35° or so is a general constitutional feature and a very fundamental one. This view at least supports the general position set forth in this lecture and upheld for a number of years by the present writer, that the now arid zone called here the Arabo-African in a moister more temperate phase was probably an, if not the, important early home of *Homo sapiens*. It is worth adding the thought that this makes *Homo sapiens* a creature of grasslands, and so helps one to picture his dissociation from the trees and his progress towards the fully erect posture and other features that characterise our race.

TWO LIVES OF ARCHBISHOP CHICHELE.¹

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I.

THE existing memorials of Henry Chichele are his register, his breviary, his College and his tomb. From them much is to be gathered about his orderly and systematic mind, his devotion to learning, his sense of dignified beauty; they reveal him sharing the more progressive educational and æsthetic traditions of his day; a careful administrator, precise and orderly in language that seldom leaves the cool tenor of its usual formality for the warmth of conviction and experience; a sound leader of the Church, pious and liberal; a great institutional figure, perhaps, rather than a great human being. Can we recover the patient spirit that lived through a brief age of glory into many long years of anti-climax? Or must we confess to having lost him among events and personalities more vivid than himself? For Chichele was neither vivid nor striking: he was not the subject of any contemporary biography. He did not stir the monastic pulse like Duke Humphrey—Walsingham dismisses him with a growl—nor cause the lawyer's eye to sparkle, as men like Sir William Gascoigne or Fortescue or Lyndwood. No humanists sent him translations; representations of him are not plentiful; in the pleasantest of them, Herman the illuminator has thought fit to frame him amongst his white-caped clerks in the initial capital of his breviary.²

¹ An elaboration of the Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th March, 1932.

² MS. Lambeth, 69, fol. i; M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Lambeth*, i, 109. On Herman's illustrations, cf. E. G. Millar in *Bulletin de la société française pour la reproduction des manuscrits*, 1924, and the remarks of S. C. Cockerell in *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue* (1908), no. 148.

and to depict him in the act of dedicating a church¹—at his ordinary tasks and duties on either occasion: little vignettes of barely three inches square.

Not striking, then, but certainly significant. Chichele's tenure of Canterbury was longer than that of any Archbishop before or after him, Boniface of Savoy and William Laud not excepted: just short of twenty-nine years, and they are the years of the Conciliar Movement and the almost concurrent papal reaction, of heresy in the dioceses and faction in the Council at home, conquest and aching responsibilities abroad. To write his biography, it is not enough to go deeply into his administrative life alone; one must know and feel that background and its strain. Only two writers have faced the task, a Jacobean lawyer and a Victorian dean. Both have treated their subject seriously and well, though it is curious to find how much more sympathy the earlier work excites. Sir Arthur Duck, who in 1617 published his *Life*² of the Archbishop in clear and effortless Latin, was a Devonshire man, a scholar of Exeter College, elected to Chichele's foundation of All Souls during Hoveden's wardenship in 1604. He became one of the two bursars in 1608,³ and Sub-Warden in 1610,⁴ the same year that the Visitor (Archbishop Bancroft) removed Whitgift's injunction that any member of the College who practised civil law outside the University was to lose his fellowship.⁵ This set Duck free to become (1614) an advocate in Doctors Commons, where he resided for the remainder of his days. As an ecclesiastical lawyer he played an important part as Chancellor of the Diocese of London and a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission.⁶ In his only other surviving book, the *De autoritate juris*

¹ MS. Lambeth, 69, fol. 192 v. For other representations at Higham Ferrers, All Souls, and in Thomas Chandler's MS. at New College, see J. H. Wylie, *Henry V*, i, 302 n., giving bibliography.

² *Vita Henrici Chichele, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, sub regibus Henric: V et VI*; Descripta ab Arthuro Duck, LL.D. (Oxford, Joseph Barnes), referred to here as *Vita*. An English translation of 1699 (London, Richard Chiswell) follows the Latin reprint of 1681, but like the latter prints a number of Duck's marginal references to his authorities inaccurately.

³ C. T. Martin, *Catalogue of the Archives . . . of All Souls College* (1877), p. 309.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 310.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ There is a perfunctory life of Duck in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vi, 87-8, the author of which makes no reference to the All Souls' Archives, and mainly refers the reader to the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*.

civilis Romanorum in dominiis Principum Christianorum, finished in 1647 but not published till 1653, when he was dead, he observed that he had studied and practised Roman law for forty years (he took his LL.B. in 1607). The treatise is a very good revelation of his mind and method: concise, fully but never pedantically documented, it is the work of a civilian with a singularly clear mind, who had had both a theoretical and a practical training, for, as he says, "after my academic studies I spent many years of actual work in the courts where there is much intermingling of the Civil Law and the Common Law of England."¹ Duck was evidently a faithful son of the College, for in 1635 he contributed 100 marks to the beautifying of the Chapel.² Perhaps by those days the domestic contentions of his early years in College had been forgotten: it is amusing to read that in August, 1609, the Visitor told Warden Hoveden that the bursars had been delated to him for sharp practice—"if they can gain £20 by their traffic in coals, they will probably cozen the College still more in their accounts"—and that they deserved expulsion.³ In 1612 Duck was able to retort by complaining to the Visitor that the Warden and senior members of the College had allowed themselves £32 more than their statutory allowance on the plea of the debasement of the coinage.⁴ Whatever may have been the financial position when Duck was there, All Souls had a reputation for law sufficient to induce the great Gentili to get his son recommended by the king for a fellowship.⁵

¹ Preface. The book, he says, was completed at Oxford, but it had been written amid the excitements of the Civil War and under the additional affliction of his wife's death. It gives a little historical account of the position of Roman Law in each of the chief European countries. When he reaches England, he naturally has to deal with the Canon Law in pre-Reformation times, and the quality of his touch can be judged from his remark that it was to England that the greater part of the Decretal Letters contained in the Canon Law Collections were sent. P. 155: "tanta erat reverentia Regum nostrorum erga sedem Romanam ut maxima pars Epistolarum Decretalium in libris juris Canonici ad Anglos missa sit." "In the *Decretales* of Gregory IX are included over 400 decretals of Alexander III and the remarkable thing about them is that he addressed to this country more decretals than to all the rest of Europe put together": Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 213.

² Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 329.

³ *Ibid.* p. 309.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 307-8.

Warden Hoveden wrote a short life of Chichele, which is still preserved, and it is not unlikely that the lawyer saw it and discussed the subject with him. Duck says that his authorities were, for the government of the Church and Country, "our historians and the French"; for English Church affairs, pure and simple, the Archbishops' registers and "certain manuscripts with which Sir Robert Cotton supplied me." "Our historians," apart from the Polychronicon, seem to have been mainly Polydore Vergil and Edward Hall, not to speak of Bale and Camden; Monstrelet the Burgundian is the most freely cited foreign chronicler. Chichele's register he consulted for convocation and for provincial constitutions. At Oxford he had access to the *Epistolae Academicae* in the University Archives. The Rolls of Parliament he evidently used in some abridgement, possibly Cotton's. His Canon Law apparatus is, as it was bound to be, excellent, and he quotes the principal commentators with ease. He is familiar with the acts of the Council of Constance; for Basel he relies on Aeneas Sylvius and Nicolaus de Tudeschis, while for the literature of political controversy he draws upon Bellarmine and shows some acquaintance with Bodin. Thus his training and preoccupations prepare us for his method of approach to Chichele: he sees the Archbishop as a prelate of the Universal Church, in touch with Conciliar events and with the Papacy after Constance. Every stage and every point where Chichele acts in compliance with the institutional order of Christendom or as a part of the western hierarchy are clearly marked, and the legal precedents or requirements for such action indicated. Thus he is extremely interested in the ambiguous position of a Cardinal alongside of the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, and happily prints Chichele's English letter of warning to Henry V on the first occasion that the Papacy proposed to confer the red hat upon Beaufort. But he was also an Englishman of Elizabethan sympathies. Like Aeneas and Zabarella, whom he cites with approval, he may adopt a Conciliar point of view, and deplore the Papal victory: but in the long run he believes in an independent *ecclesia Anglicana*, and with Foxe, whom he had read and pondered, he regards Wyclif as sowing "the seeds of sound doctrine . . . among the other Christian nations." He translates into elegant Latin the whole of the imposing rhetoric put by Hall into Chichele's mouth when the question of renewing the French war was

being debated in 1414¹—the very speech which Shakespeare put into verse²—and accepts the view that the war policy was urged by the prelates in order to divert the king from paying attention to the famous petition of the anti-clerical group in the Commons (1410) praying for the seizure of the temporal goods of the clergy. So too he believes the founder's intention that his College should pray for those who died in the French War to have been due to his being "troubled by scruple, as it would seem, that he had been the author and counsellor of that war,"³ whereas it represents nothing more than the desire to assist the souls of departed Englishmen, his master and friends, in purgatory, the aim of all later medieval *anniversaria* for the dead. In conclusion, there is no segregation of subjects in Duck's book. It is straightforward annalistic biography, year by year; there is no suggestion that at any time in his career, as Dean Hook states, "while ever ready to obey the call of his king, Chicheley avoided as much as possible State affairs and gave his chief attention to his spiritual duties."⁴ No archbishop of the later Middle Ages could or would have avoided "State affairs"; we have only to turn over the pages of Sir Harris Nicholas' *Proceedings of the Privy Council* or the convocation section of Chicheley's own register to be aware that constant attendance upon the king in the discussion of high policy was his duty, and there is the clearest possible evidence, both in these two sources and in the words of his foundation statute for All Souls College, that he felt the claims of both *militiae*, Church and State, and met them to the utmost of his ability. The interplay of the secular and the ecclesiastical found in Duck's pages is perfectly justified. If only he had had Rymer and Wilkins to build upon! Yet the

¹ (1809 ed.) p. 49.

² *Vita*, pp 31-37: cf. C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England*, p. 11. At the time of the Leicester parliament, where Hall says that the speech was delivered, Chicheley was not yet Archbishop.

³ *Vita*, p. 104: "religione uti videtur percussus, quod illius belli author et suator fuisset." On this see the remarks of Sir Charles Grant Robertson, *All Souls College* (1899), p. 3.

⁴ *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (1867), v, 64. This was written about Chicheley in 1418, but shows a fundamental misconception of the Archbishop's constitutional position throughout. A cognate error is found in Hook's too rigid dichotomy of "parliamentary convention" and "ecclesiastical Synod," when he deals with convocation (*ibid.*, v, 80).

remarkable thing is that without these indispensable, if sometimes rather eclectic, helpers, he has written the account that he has.

In Dean Hook's company we are somehow in a more distant world, and it is not only because Duck was nearer in time and thought to the age when Europe, with all its sharpened national divergencies and despite the Reformation, still possessed a common consciousness and identity. The *Lives of the Archbishops*, a sort of continuous history of the English Church, nearly on the same scale, though not imbued with the same learning, as the books of Pastor and Mann, is still a useful work. But it has "dated" in the way that the lawyer's Life has not; for the inspiration of Cotton and Spelman was all around the advocate of Doctor's Commons; to a historian that was a stimulus more objective and scientific than anything that northern industrialism or the peace of a Sussex close could provide. Hook, before he went to Chichester, was the vicar who entirely recreated English Church life in Leeds. It was no small achievement to come from that great parish, where the practical life was everything, to the prolonged labour of a lengthy historical work. But there is a certain isolation about his outlook. His view of the Church of England as a branch of the Church Catholic which can exist in purity under any form of government separated him from the Tractarians,¹ and made him, while repudiating Erastianism as they did, less sympathetic to the position of the Papacy as it had evolved under the need for organization and discipline in the Church. At the same time his desire to narrate English Church history *via* the Archbishops of Canterbury made him heighten the importance of his figures, and see them leading when in fact they were content to play a cautious and co-operating part only. There is no evidence, for example, that Chichele took any prominent share in Henry V's clever management of the Emperor Sigismund, when he visited England in 1416; yet Hook suggests that on the subject of the Council as well as on the attitude of this country towards France Sigismund "came to a good understanding with Chichele." We know Hallam's attitude towards the problems of Constance, we can make a shrewd guess at Beaufort's and Richard Flemming's, but have we more than a single letter of Chichele grumbling at exemptions and dispensations? Do we gather anything about his view of the treaty of Canterbury beyond the slender

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, ix, 1170, 1173.

fact that he showed his compliance by accompanying Henry to Calais in September, 1416, for the negotiations with France and Burgundy ? Obviously in its later stages the treaty was discussed in meetings of the Council, when he was present, but is there any record of his opinions ? This is a single and not unrepresentative instance of imaginative gilding, the anxiety to find significance where none exists. Another example is the dean's view that after the surrender of Rouen in 1419 Chichele "gradually ceased to be the mere lawyer and became a theologian." The only evidence for this is the administrative measures taken for the Church in the conquered territories. No treatise, nor sermon to give an indication of this "new" tendency, exists. To the end Chichele was never a "mere lawyer" ; he had theologians round him, he was in close touch with the learned of the mendicant orders who helped him in dealing with heretics ; Richard Ullerston dedicated a theological treatise to him,¹ and he presented a fine set of theological books to his College ;² but "theologian" he can never be described in the Merton sense of the word.

Let us compare the two accounts of Chichele's early years. Duck says that he was born *familia obscura* ; the Dean's opinion is "that his father was engaged in trade is as certain as that through success in trade he was able to become a landed proprietor."³ We know nothing about Thomas Chichele beyond the tradition that he was a draper of Higham Ferrers and the fact that he was several times mayor of that place, that he held property there,⁴ that he was of sufficient standing to marry the daughter of an armigerous family (the Pyncheons) and that he was buried in the Lady Chapel of the parish Church.⁵ Hook claims that Henry Chichele was educated in the College of "St. John Baptist on the Hill" at Winchester,⁶ established

¹ A Commentary on the Psalms. The treatise was among the original books of All Souls College : Archives of All Souls Coll., Misc. no. 210. See Appendix, *infra*, p. 472.

² See *infra*, p. 469.

³ J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, iii, 87 and n.

⁴ Higham Ferrers, Mayors' Account Rolls, unnumbered. (Information from notes on these records compiled by the late Mr. A. F. Leach).

⁵ The brass is in the form of a cross, bearing the symbols of the four Evangelists. Thomas died in 1400. Next to it is the splendid brass of his third son William (d. 1425) and Beatrice his wife. For illustrations, see *Stemmata Chicheleana* (1765). plates 1 and 2.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 7. Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 138 corrects.

by Wykeham as a preparation for New College. There was no such place. Wykeham kept a school for boys at Winchester from the beginning of September, 1373, at which date the Winchester College archives record the appointment of Richard de Herton as Master for ten years.¹ Hook evidently misread a document in Wykeham's episcopal register directing that the scholars in his college should attend service in the parish church of St. John the Baptist on the (St. Giles's) Hill, while they lived within the parish and their chapel was not yet built.² Under Herton or his successor Chichele learned his grammar³ before passing on to acquire the foundations of his legal knowledge at Oxford. He seems to have resided in College from 1386 to 1392,⁴ when he was ordained sub-deacon; he was probably one of the ten scholars in Canon Law, for he took his LL.B. in 1390, and we know pretty accurately, from Mr. Leach's list, the books which he would read on that subject in the New College library.⁵ He was destined for the Court of Arches, the clever young clerk's equivalent of going to the bar, and while pleading there as an advocate he supported himself from the Rectory of St. Stephen's, Wallbrook.⁶ It was from this vantage ground that he came to the notice of Richard Mitford, bishop of Salisbury, and began a ten years direct connection with the cathedral church and diocese that seems to have been one of the chief forces in his life. In an earlier paper⁷ I gave some account of the chapter in the early fifteenth century, its high intellectual standards, and the fame and distinction of its use which Chichele later did his best to generalise; in this respect Salisbury presented

¹ Bishop Lowth, *Life of William of Wykeham* (1759), Appendix, p. ix.

² *Ibid.*, p. xv; *Wykeham's Register*, ed. T. F. Kirby (Hampshire Record Soc.), ii, 408.

³ The object of the scholars at Winchester, when it was founded, was "grammaticam addiscere et in ipsa arte seu scientia grammaticali studere": "Statutes of New College, Oxford," p. 6, in *Statutes of the Oxford Colleges* (1853).

⁴ See the information from the New College Archives, given in Hook, p. 8.

⁵ *Collectanea* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), vol. iii, pp. 235-239.

⁶ He became rector on 30 March, 1396, and exchanged livings with Robert Bush, rector of East Hendred on 10 Sept., 1397: Reg. Braybrooke, fols. 141 and 153 v; Harleian MS. 6955, fol. 17.

⁷ "Some English Documents of the Conciliar Movement," *B.J.R.L.*, vol. 15, no. 2, July, 1931.

a parallel to fifteenth-century York, that focussed in its chapter the learned life of the north of England. Chichele became archdeacon of Dorset on 3 September, 1397, archdeacon of Sarum (by exchange) in 1402, and chancellor of the cathedral in 1404: his prebends were Yetminster Prima, 7 December, 1397; Rotefen in Amesbury (later changed to Winterbourne Earls), 22 January, 1397, to April, 1398; Fordington and Writhlington, 28 August, 1400, to October, 1400; Bedminster and Redcliffe, 19 June, 1402, and Fordington and Writhlington again from 2 September to 14 December, 1404.¹ As Chancellor he would naturally hold the prebend of Bricklesworth.² It is interesting to note how in the lists printed by the late Mr. W. H. R. Jones the names of the two Mitfords, Walter and John, occur in close proximity to his own. In addition to these prebends, Chichele held the rectory of Sherston Magna.³ We can see him active as archdeacon of Sarum in 1403,⁴ and in 1405 the "Draper" Act Book of the Chapter reveals him complaining that he had not received notice of a meeting at which some assignment of premises had been made.⁵ I suspect that he may have occupied Lindenhall in the close, a canonical house built by Elias de Dereham on its western side. It may have been Salisbury that originally brought him into contact with the great Lyndwood. Duck omits this part of his life, all but for a brief reference, and the dean regards it as a transient stage in his legal career; but the church that occupied a unique position in the southern province was both Chichele's spiritual home and his training ground as an ecclesiastical administrator. And the fabric itself! Has not Professor Alexander rightly described it as "pure poetry"?

¹ W. H. R. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Cathedralis Saresburiensis*, pp. 434, 413, 382, 361, 413 (in order of time).

² C. Wordsworth, *Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies*, p. 137.

³ In 1400 he presented a vicar to Sherston, of which he himself became rector on 26 July; in 1401, as rector, he presented W. Mollyng, a Gloucestershire vicar, in exchange with his former nominee, T. English. Sir T. Phillipps, *Institutiones Clericorum in comitatu Wiltoniae* (1825), i, 87.

⁴ As archdeacon of Sarum he appointed to the Chantry of St. Clement's, Fisherton Aucher; and some months later he appears again as presenting J. Pynnok, *alias* Stephens, to the Chantry at Fisherton: *ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

⁵ I owe this information to Canon Christopher Wordsworth. Harleian MS. 862, containing a number of his acts, deserves careful study in connection with his chancellorship.

His legal gifts, the Mitford connection and the eminence of his Alderman brothers in the City doubtless brought the rising clerk into the king's employment. The London connection is worth some emphasis: William and Robert Chichele were both wealthy grocers and well established in their mistery by the time that Henry became chancellor of Salisbury.¹ Robert, the second son of Thomas Chichele, became sheriff in 1402 and mayor in 1411 and 1421; his wealth may be judged by his bequest in his will (1438) of money to give a dinner on his birthday to 2400 poor householders, with twopence each for them in cash. William, the elder, was master of the fraternity of the Grocers in 1385, 1396 and 1406, and a representative of London in the Shrewsbury parliament of 1398. He was sheriff in 1409-1410.² In 1419 we find them both sitting in the Court of Aldermen to elect the aldermen and commoner representatives of the City in parliament;³ and for years before that the brothers had been found together in the same court or on the same committee,⁴ "singular columns of stability," if we may adapt the chronicler's picture of Archbishop Hubert Walter. Nor should it be forgotten that Henry Chichele came from a manor in the duchy of Lancaster. The Lancastrians looked well after their own; the revolution which put Henry Bolingbroke on the throne was predominantly a family and territorial change: it meant the advancement, alike in Church and State, for the natives of the duchy as well as for the supporters of the duke.

From the late summer of 1406 to 1408 the archdeacon of Salisbury was continuously abroad in Henry IV's service, working, with Sir John Cheyne, for the termination of the Schism, and varying his labours with a mission to Charles VI of France.⁵ Hook makes the curious statement that the expenses of the mission to Innocent VII were defrayed by Chichele himself. In point of fact they are entered on the Pipe Roll.⁶ Chichele was doing well by the time he received

¹ Wylie, *Henry IV*, iii, 136 f.

² *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London, Letter-Book I*, p. 75.

³ M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages*, p. 49 n.

⁴ Cf. *Letter-Book I*, pp. 69-70, 222, 226, etc.

⁵ For the dates of these missions, which ran continuously, see *B.J.R.L.*, vol. 15, no. 2, July, 1931, p. 374.

⁶ *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, XI, Foreign Accounts*, pp. 79-80. Cheyne's account is in *Exch. Accounts (K.R.)*, 321/6.

his promotion to St. David's, but scarcely well enough to maintain two households, an ecclesiastical and a secular, for the required length of sojourn abroad. When in 1407 Gregory XII, as a favour to the English, both provided and consecrated him to the Welsh diocese in succession to Guy Mone, he was holding, in addition to his Salisbury archdeaconry and chancellorship, the parish churches of Odiham in Hampshire, East Hendred in Berkshire and Brington in the diocese of Lincoln, and canonries in Lichfield, Lincoln, St. Martin-le-Grand, St. Paul's, Shaftesbury and Abergwilly (St. Davids). His tenures of all these, except for Odiham, were sanctioned in the Papal letter of collation to the Lincoln canonry in 1404.¹ It was over the Pope's indult allowing him to continue holding these benefices together with the Church of St. David's (May, 1408),² that a famous case, set forth by Hook, was fought in the King's Bench during the Michaelmas term of 1409, when the king claimed that Chichele's prebend of Yetminster Prima was *ipso facto* vacant because of his consecration. It was a question whether the law of the land or the Apostle's indult should prevail, and Thirning, C.J., took the opportunity (what medieval justice could have resisted it?) of making some ponderous observations about the need of maintaining the law of the kingdom against Apostolic encroachments. Dean Hook, who quotes approvingly his remarks from the Year Book,³ might have pointed out that the indult was, in itself, thoroughly reasonable. The register of Chichele's vicar-general, John Hiot, shows that Mr. John David, the late chancellor, who died in 1407, had been guilty of embezzlement and had impoverished the Church of St. David;⁴ and the petition of Chichele himself for allowance of the heavy dilapidations throughout the bishop's estates⁵ makes it clear that Guy Mone, busy as treasurer and living most of the time in the Strand, had not troubled to look after the lands and manses. From the *Black Book of St. David's* we know that their annual value early in the fourteenth century did not exceed £333⁶—a contrast with Winchester or a

¹ *Cal. Papal Lett.*, vi, 56-7.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 112.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴ *The Episcopal Registers of St. David's, 1397-1518*, ed. R. F. Isaacson, i, 380.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Lett.*, vi, 134.

⁶ *The Black Book of St. David's*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund (Cymmrodorion Rec. Soc. v, 1902), p. vii.

great principality like Durham. It was natural for Chichele to fight the case, though he had to give way in the end ; but he did the next best thing ; he got his cousin William, though still a minor, put into both his Salisbury chancellorship and archdeaconry, when he surrendered them in 1409.¹

The see of St. David's was admittedly a stepping-stone to higher things, a source of income for an absent administrator or diplomat. No prelate of Chichele's training and orthodoxy would feel at home in a diocese where great numbers of the clergy were married,² some grossly immoral,³ or where the bishop would be called upon to deal with the problems of outlandish tenures upon the episcopal estates.⁴ Only the register of Chichele's Vicar-General has survived ; for the bishop himself there is significantly none. He was not enthroned till 20 May, 1411, and even then he resided only for a short while : the interim had been spent largely upon Conciliar business and after that upon his embassy to France in 1410. His choice (14 Jan., 1409) as one of the delegates to the Council of Pisa was justified by his previous knowledge of the Curia, and, it would not be too much to conjecture, by his ability to work with Bishop Robert Hallum, the leader of the delegation. Both Duck and Dean Hook, the former especially, give some attention to the first of the Conciliar assemblies ; but neither of them have grasped the fact that the English played there a rôle of considerable importance. Before the delegation, after passing by way of Paris where they heard Gerson's great address, arrived on 30 April, the thirty-seven articles of accusation against the contending pontiffs had been read by a 'Magister Anglus, unus de secretariis Concilii' (24 April).⁵ Mr. F. D. Hodgkiss has suggested

¹ *Cal. Papal Lett.*, vi, 214-15.

² *The Black Book of St. David's*, pp. xlvi and 201 ; described mainly as *capellani*, in some areas they are stated to be heads of the families that made up the gwele.

³ E.g. William Coytlotdie, prior of Lawhaden, who kept a mistress at Tenby (*vitam ducit enormiter dissolutam*), and refused to reside : *St. David's Registers*, i, 387.

⁴ The military tenants held by charter ; others, in the gwele, by gavelkind ; others held as *Tydwalddi* (*Black Book*, p. 54) ; others by the Welsh tenures of Howel Dha, "a law of all laws the most imperfect, unwritten, not free from change," as the commissioners of 1535 stated (*Valor Eccl.*, iv, p. 379).

⁵ The fifth session, Mansi, xxvii, 124. For the articles see *ibid.* xxvi, 1195-1219, and Hefele Leclercq, vii, 22-28.

to me, with some probability, that this is Richard Dereham, chancellor of Cambridge, who had been prominent in the Council from the beginning.¹ When they came, the English at once proclaimed their adhesion to the assembly in a lengthy sermon by Hallum,² all accounts of which take care to give the mandate addressed to him and his colleagues: his delegation, he said, came with the authority of the king and the English prelates and clergy, to abide by the decisions of the Council of the greater and wiser part, and to do everything in their power for the good of the Church.³ Later, when the Council legalized the steps taken by the Cardinals and declared its competence to decide the cases of the recalcitrant pontiffs, the English emphasized the decision and induced the Council to accept certain modifications of their own.⁴ Hallum pointed out on behalf of his delegation that at the moment the Council could make no general decree in this sense, since there had been no general subtraction of obedience, owing to the fact that certain of Benedict's Cardinals still remained recalcitrant, and uniformity on this point was a preliminary necessity. The reservation betrays a canonist in the English delegation, and it is not difficult to imagine who that was. What part, however, Chichele or the English as a whole took in framing the *libellus*, or common schedule of grievances presented by the nations to Alexander V about the middle of July, 1409, we do not know;⁵ but some information about the earlier stages, when the schedule was being debated, we can glean from the extremely interesting letter of Robert, prior of Sauxillanges, proctor of the abbot of Cluny, to his principal, written on 28 June.⁶ The bishop of Salisbury, he gives us to understand, spoke freely on the subject of exemptions—the grievance of which Chichele was later to write to the delegation at Constance and which he ventilated in one

¹ For his sermon during the Easter celebrations, cf. Mansi, xxvii, 114.

² On the Text "Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae" (Ps. lxxxviii. 15).

³ Martene et Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio*, vii, 108.

⁴ See especially Religieux de St. Denys, *Chronique*, ed. Bellaquet, iv, 226 f. This and the section that follows I owe largely to the unpublished thesis of Mr. F. D. Hodgkiss, "Bishop Robert Hallum of Salisbury and ecclesiastical reform."

⁵ On this see N. Valois, *La France et le grand Schisme*, iv, 176. The *libellus* and the answer is printed in *Amplissima Coll.* vii, 1124-1130.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1117 f.

of his early Convocations ; and under the same heading Hallum took advantage of the presence of the abbot of Cîteaux to complain of the ill régime of the Cistercians in England.¹ Like appropriations, exemptions were a characteristically English subject of complaint, and Chichele can have been no stranger to the evils that arose from them ; the Oxford petition for reform in 1414² was to drive home the lesson, and later the English Concordat with the Papacy, which, as we shall see, Chichele attempted for his part to carry out, paid special attention to the point. At all events, to be a colleague of men like Hallum and those two remarkable religious, Chillenden of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Spofforth of St. Mary's, York (later bishop of Hereford), must have been something of an education, even for the accomplished bishop of St. David's.

Though we must needs resort to conjecture when dealing with Chichele's position in the delegation to Pisa, our task is not thereby vain. The clue of friendships and associations is always worth following, especially when they throw light on the most important phases of a man's life ; and with Chichele, for all the long years of domestic routine and administration, the crucial problems were to be concerned with England's relations with Rome. If our ecclesiastical history in the fifteenth century is to be fully understood, it is essential to bring the English Church into relation with tendencies and events outside the country. To a limited extent this has been realized by our authors, Duck especially ; the Roman lawyer is naturally much concerned with the Councils, but he is not interested in the critical interim between Constance and Basel. It is surprising that Sir William Petyt, whom he must have known, does not appear to have shown him his transcripts of the famous dispute between Martin V and Chichele.³ Dean Hook devotes considerable attention to the celebrated quarrel ; but when it is over, his interest does not extend to the preparations for Basel or to the exasperatingly cautious conduct of Chichele when once that assembly had started. By an extraordinary inversion of the facts, he speaks of Martin V's intention "to supersede the system of Hildebrand," by which "the independent action of National Churches had

¹ *Amplissima Coll.* vii, 1117 f. : "inter ceteras querimonias exemptorum multum conqueritur de malo regimine Cisterciensium in regno suo Angliae."

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 360-365.

³ Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 55, pp. 89-99 v.

been recognized and allowed," and refers the reader to an earlier section in his book. This is as misleading as is his description of the enactment which was Martin's particular object of execration as the "Statute of Praemunire" (though the sixteenth century made this mistake), or his unqualified judgment upon Martin's offensive as a "usurpation." The dean suggests that the simple-minded and single-hearted Archbishop did not understand the Pope's underlying aim, and attributed Martin's action to the personal jealousy of Beaufort and his party.¹ This is to miss the whole point. Jealousy there certainly must have been; but only a genius could have failed to be hopelessly enmeshed in the network of diplomatic relations between the Pope and his English supporters, the Regent Bedford, and the out-and-out nationalists represented by the Duke of Gloucester and other lay lords. Chichele's attitude towards the Papacy was as much determined by political factors and a foreign situation over which he had no vestige of control, as by his own personal views. Yet because he was Archbishop and legate, the storm broke furiously upon his head.

Those views, as far as we can understand them, had been formed in the school of Henry V. After Henry's death Chichele's evident desire was to continue the tradition of the master to whom he was devoted, his companion in the tent as well as in the Council. The character and sanctified reputation of a monarch who had found time to concern himself directly with the reform of the English Black Monks seemed, while he lived, to make clergy and laity the two wings of a militia of moral right. It is easy to smile at the Emperor Sigismund for succumbing to the stage-management of 1416, but even a stronger man would have had to recognize that a new European force had come into being, backed by subtle diplomacy and aided by the courtesy of an ancient kingdom. It was Henry who in reality directed the operations of the English delegation at Constance, Henry who determined when they should withhold from the German nation the initial co-operation that had secured the abdication of John XXIII. and the condemnation of the heresy which was threatening England just as much as Bohemia. Archbishop Chichele collected the money for the delegates of the Southern province, reinforced the personnel of the envoys in 1416, ordained prayers for Sigismund's success, pressed

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

Hallum to do something about the exemptions and dispensations that undermined diocesan authority ; but the letter which he wrote to the bishop of Salisbury, after expressing the Council's grateful acknowledgment of Hallum's work, significantly urged him to preserve the rights and honour of the kingdom, and the clergy of England, and to resist the malice of the French, "who are ever opposed to us."¹ To Henry the Council offered valuable possibilities of anti-French propaganda and the mobilization of forces against *Gallicana duplicitas*. Robert Hallum, the idealist, was an excellent screen behind which the royal will, when it wanted, could operate. Reform, yes, up to a point. Dr. Finke's texts of the *Avisamenta* or projects of the reforming commissions has made clearer certain matters over which the English members were particularly concerned, and some of these ultimately found their way into the English Concordat with the Papacy ; but on the main and burning question, the collation of benefices, the English envoys, to our knowledge, made no recommendations which should apply to this country. More would be gained if Henry, by his instructions to his embassy—a compact body with none of the divisions between University and other elements that made themselves apparent in the French delegation—turned the scale in favour of electing, with hand untied by any preliminary Conciliar reform, a prelate who would recognize his debt and obligation to the king, and would not question the Statute of Provisors and the royal method of enforcing it, the *Præmunire* legislation. It is impossible to read the absurdly fulsome language of Martin V to Bishop John Catterick, Henry's ambassador to the Curia, in April, 1419,² without realizing that the Pope knew quite well what he owed to Henry for calling his embassy off the German plan of reform before election and making them concur with the French and the Italians.³ When the English Concordat was approved and uttered at Bern on 30 May, 1418, it contained not a word about Papal reservations. For Martin, uncompliant at heart,

¹ Royal MS. 10, B. ix, fol. 59.

² Rymer, ix, 680.

³ See Fillastre in Finke, *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, i, 139, 147, and the observations of Schelstratenus in Von der Hardt, *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, iv, 1426: "natio Angliae, quae ad mandatum Regis Angliae dimisit in illa materia Regem Romanorum." In July, 1417, Henry cracked the whip against the members of his delegation who were acting against royal instructions and coming to an understanding with other nations, without consulting the leaders of the delegation (Rymer, ix, 472).

that matter was still to be the subject of negotiation ;¹ but Henry for the moment had scored by the omission from the document of any material about provisions. Twice Chichele had the Concordat entered in his register,² and did what he could to carry out the provisions in it that were closest to English interests : among the commissions entered in that record are a number directed in 1420 to his presentatives in the dioceses of Exeter, Lincoln, and Coventry and Lichfield, instructing them to find out, in accordance with the fourth clause cancelling all incorporations, consolidations, and appropriations since the Schism began, the details of such unions, as a preliminary to further action. Here, indeed, he was prepared to co-operate ; but on the greater question of provisions, the line taken by the Council at home was to continue, whatever the Universities might say, the royal system which made it impossible for the Extravagants *Execrabilis* of John XXII and *Ad regimen* of Benedict XII to take effect within the kingdom.³ England would not admit the general reservations.

At Martin's side stood a very important man, John of Broniaco, formerly bishop of Viviers, now bishop of Ostia, cardinal of Sant Anastasia and vice-chancellor of the Roman see since 1394. He had belonged to the French party, but in 1409 had come over to the Pisan cardinals ; he had been vice-chancellor to Alexander V, John XXIII, and was now acting as such to Martin. With him he brought the Avignonese tradition of curial administration and a considerable number of Avignonese officials. Twenty-four years had this link with the fiscal past been at his post, and, as Ottenthal shows,

¹ In the embassy of Henry Grenfeld (Oct., 1419) and again in Martin's letter expressing surprise that Nicholas Bildeston, Henry's envoy, had said nothing about the subject. J. Haller, "England und Rom unter Martin V," *Quellen und Forschungen aus ital. Archiv. u. Bibl.*, viii, 2, pp. 254 f., 291.

² Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 332-333, 335-335 v.

³ It is worth noting, however, that the government showed considerable compliance over the bishoprics. By the end of 1421 there had been, in the first four years of Martin's pontificate, eleven episcopal vacancies. In ten cases Martin had exercised his right, claimed as the result of a reservation made at the beginning of his reign, to provide, and only in three cases (Exeter 1420-21, Rochester 1419, Worcester 1419) had any previous election or postulation taken place. See Haller, *op. cit.*, p. 257, n. His nominees met with no opposition, probably because they were acceptable to Henry and the Council.

he must have been responsible for the continuity of policy in regard to the Apostolic chancery, so strikingly seen in the publication of Martin's rules issued on the day after his coronation (27 Feb., 1418), just before he left Constance.¹ At Geneva in July, when the second copy of the English Concordat was given under his supervision to the Provost of Beverley,² he was engrossing further rules for the guidance of himself and future vice-chancellors,³ and defining the methods of his control over the beneficiary system, like a good methodical administrator, as if nothing had happened or was likely to happen. It is clear that Martin regarded the beneficiary clauses in the Concordats as temporary things, and that temporary they became was due in no small measure to his determination to restore and strengthen the Avignonesse tradition, aided by those two first-rate curial servants, Cardinal John of Ostia and Cardinal Branda da Castiglione.

The change of sovereign in England gave Martin his opportunity. Henry V's system and its supporters must be given no quarter. The following year he delivered his first blow at Chichele by appointing a commission to inquire into the allegation that the Archbishop and the Chapter of Christ Church had issued a jubilee indulgence to those visiting Canterbury in 1420, and had appointed penitenciaries—when his own jubilee fell in the year of writing (1423).⁴ This letter, which has sometimes been misunderstood, unquestionably relates to celebrations planned at Canterbury for the two hundredth anniversary of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr by Stephen Langton.⁵ What his commissioners reported to him we do not know; all that is clear is that from 1423 onwards he was both setting himself to create a party among the English bishops and directing a steady stream of foreign collectors and special representatives at the country,⁶ whose business was, among other duties, to send him information and to

¹ *Regulae Cancellariae Apostolicae*, pp. xii and 187 f. Cf. Hübler, *Die Constanzer Reformation und die Konkordate*, p. 130 f.

² I have attempted to trace the issue of the various copies, in a forthcoming paper, "Wilkins's Concilia and the Fifteenth Century," *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. xv.

³ Ottenthal, p. 204 f.

⁴ Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, viii, 573.

⁵ *Litterae Cantuarienses* (Rolls Ser.) iii, xxxv. On the original translation, see F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, p. 145.

⁶ Haller, *op. cit.*, pp. 253, 262 f.

gather the monies which, owing to the action of Henry VI's council under Humphrey of Gloucester, it was not always easy to send out of England. Martin was kept well informed : it cannot have taken him long to seize the essentials of the situation. The strength of the Statute of Provisors lay in the flexibility with which it was administered. It could be modified or relaxed, and exceptions could be made out of it, the former on petition of parliament,¹ the latter by ordinary letters patent under the privy seal.² It could be applied, in effect, as the government wanted. Supporting it were most of the royal councillors, and a step so radical as its abolition would have to be submitted to the wider circle of the Lords as well as the Commons in parliament. That was the position earlier taken up by Henry IV, so the precedent was impeccable. The only way to secure this end was to persuade or intimidate the two archbishops into representing to both estates in parliament that the Statute was contrary to ecclesiastical liberty, and imperilled the souls of those who maintained it, and to make them echo his promise that English interests would be adequately safeguarded if the Pope was allowed the full system of reservations and provisions that he was claiming elsewhere in Christendom. Exactly when the Pope arrived at this method of attack is uncertain ; probably after the departure of Cesarini in 1426.³ Martin began by soliciting Bishop Beaufort and the Regent Bedford ; for three years he was working through persons, trying the method of discrediting some and exalting others, which he knew and practised so well. He had a superb epistolary style : nothing like it had been seen since Gregory IX, nothing so direct and searching, at times so terrible. *Si quam in districto dei judicio*⁴ would have troubled the stoutest breast. Quite early in the contest Chichele and his cathedral convent are described as "fallen angels wishing to set up a false tabernacle of salvation." In an age of formulæ and jaded palates, his powerfully direct appeals and his scientific threatenings and vituperation went home to the recipients, and in others awoke admiration for such a formidable

¹ *E.g. Rot. Parl.*, iii, 428 : modification so long as this did not favour aliens.

² *E.g. Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1405-1408, pp. 109, 111, 114, 140, 184, 190, 195, etc. A full list of licences to seek and accept provisions from Rome during Henry IV's reign alone would be a very long one. The majority are granted to graduates of the Universities.

³ Haller, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁴ *Concilia*, iii, 482-483.

stylist. And he had the wisdom of years and the fierce old aristocratic pride of the Colonna. "Viget enim magis animus in debilitate corporis; et in senibus viget ratio et consilium, duae res necessariae ad regimen et sui et caeterorum."¹ This was in reply to Thomas Polton's request for permission to resign his see.

The key to the situation was neither Gloucester nor Beaufort, but Bedford, and Bedford was a *politique*, a balancer of interests, an English diplomatist of a high order. Humphrey and Beaufort might neutralise each other in the Council, but the decisive word would rest with the man who administered northern France. It is clear that Bedford understood the strong and the weak points of his own and Martin's position. His particular care was the conquered French provinces. He knew quite well that if he was to keep the supply of English money flowing into his treasury overseas, parliament must not be asked to take a step that was unpopular with the majority of its members. And the Regent was intent upon an ecclesiastical policy for the newly acquired territories, which he sought to achieve by Anglo-French action at the Council of Siena.² In February, 1424, the ambassador of Henry VI, Jean de Rochetaillée, Archbishop of Rouen, was working effectively to secure the dissolution of the Council. The Anglo-Burgundian clergy were equally emphatic about its uselessness, and together their plans did much to wreck it, as Martin desired. The *quid pro quo* demanded by Bedford immediately after its ending was the creation of a number of French Cardinals favourable to England and the offer to leave the Papacy the disposal of benefices as before the Schism, but on condition of always choosing one of three candidates privately presented to him by Bedford, as long as the war lasted. Bedford also asked for the translation or resignation of the disaffected prelates, and demanded that the Pope should give Henry VI. the title of King of France and of England every time that he wrote to commending ecclesiastics provided in the conquered provinces; otherwise Henry might withhold the temporalities. He was also anxious that cases which would normally go to the Holy See should be heard in France by a prelate resident in the English territories, and tried to stipulate that Rome should not inter-

¹ Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, viii, 573.

² For the events consequent upon this, see N. Valois, *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges* (1906), pp. xxi-xxvii.

vene in the matrimonial suit between the Duke of Brabant, Humphrey of Gloucester and Jacqueline of Hainault, in which he and the Duke of Burgundy had been requested to arbitrate. This, in fact, was to be the price of Martin's release from the Council, and it is not hard to anticipate Martin's reception of the terms. On some points he temporized—*dabitur bonus et congruus modus*—but on the essentials he was perfectly firm. This led to fresh pressure by Bedford and the ominous threat to revive the Gallican liberties. Martin's significant and unyielding answer (Feb., 1425) was sent by Julian Cesarini. Only during four months of the year would he relax, in favour of the ordinary collators, his claim to provide, and the ordinaries thus found themselves with a bare third of the non-elective benefices at their disposal. And then came the surprising thing. Bedford gave way. Much later in the year an ordinance of Henry VI (26 Nov., 1425) declared Martin's constitution valid throughout the French territories under English control. The acceptance was by no means to the taste of those supporters of the French monarchy who had only with difficulty resigned themselves to the Franco-Papal Concordat of 1418; that indeed had been bad enough; but Martin's new claims rendered the crucial clauses of that agreement almost nugatory. The French king's proctor pointed this out in parliament (2 March, 1426) and observed that Christ had said to Peter "feed my sheep," not "shear my sheep";¹ but Bedford overrode their grumbling, and with joy Martin conferred the red hat upon both Jean de Rochetaillée and Henry Beaufort (24 March, 1426). The time and occasion of Beaufort's new dignity are significant. It must have been with some bitterness that Chichele, who had vigorously opposed Beaufort's Cardinalate on an earlier occasion, had to leave Convocation to receive the lord Cardinal upon his entry into London.² Perhaps the real fact is that at bottom Bedford was not concerned with the rights of ordinary collators, and that he was looking for some other concessions from the Holy See. One such favour he had already got

¹ Valois, *op. cit.*, pièces justificatives, no. 16, p. 23. Kemp was very nervous lest this provision should not be received with favour either by the Cardinals or by the Council in England. Cf. his letter to William Swan, English notary at the Curia, in MS. Cotton Cleopatra C. iv, fol. 165. I owe this, and a later reference to Swan's letters, to Miss Wolff.

² For Richard Caudray's protest against Beaufort's visit to England in 1428, cf. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1843 ed.), iii. 717.

very quickly ; on 20 July, 1425, his friend and helper, Bishop John Kemp, was translated from London to York, and back poor Richard Flemming had to go to Lincoln,¹ a disappointed man, like Philip Morgan of Worcester, who had entertained hopes of the northern diocese. But on the larger issue it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the concession Bedford most desired was Martin's abstention from exercising his right of reservation over benefices in England. If he thought to buy off the Pope by concessions in France, he was speedily undeceived. Fresh from victories on a parallel issue over Bishop Cameron and James I of Scotland, and having beaten down a similar intransigence in the Portuguese Church, with Charles VII's Council for a time quiescent, Martin was able seriously to set about England, and to begin that tremendous campaign against the Statute of Provisors which Dr. Haller has described so vividly.

The provision of Prosper Colonna, a boy of fourteen, to the archdeaconry of Canterbury was made in 1424 ; his reception did not take effect till 1426,² after the Council had debated the matter,³ and then with the stipulation that the benefices allotted for his stipend should not be considered as liable to apostolic reservation afterwards. The point of the provision lay in the fact that the collector John of Obizzi was the boy's proctor.⁴ The provision planted at Chichele's very doors a constant reminder of Martin's threatened hegemony. When Bedford came back in 1426 to deal with the Beaufort-Gloucester dispute, and the Council was again functioning, Martin saw his chance to strike. The great attack opened in November, 1426. Did the Archbishop realize that he was one figure in the sum total of those whose subjection to his design Martin had intended ? It is certain that Chichele was surprised at the reports that had been given of him to the Holy See—probably as much by Beaufort, whose bitter struggle with Duke Humphrey had suspended all activity in the Council during part of 1425, as by Cesarini.⁵ Had he been able to under-

¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, vii, 389 n., and *Reg. Chichele*, i, fol. 39 v. The York appointments are commented on by Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson in his Memorandum to *Interim Report of the Appointment of Bishops Committee* (Church Assembly, 1929), p. 42.

² *Reg. Chichele*, i, fols. 162, 162 v.

³ *P.P.C.*, iii, 190-191 ; *Rymer*, x, 354.

⁴ *Reg. Chichele*, i, fol. 162 v. ; *Cal. Papal Lett.*, vii, 446.

⁵ Dr. Haller's view that Cesarini's report was the cause of the Pope's bitterness cannot be regarded as more than a hypothesis.

stand Martin's attitude to the Concordats as a whole, he would have prepared for the worst. The victorious Pope was in a hurry, and thought to carry everything with a rush in the last two months of 1426 ; but the task proved quite impossible, and twelve whole months passed before any decision was taken at the Pope's request. Martin chafed bitterly at the delay ; but the letters which he sent throughout 1427, together with the suspension of Chichele's legatine authority (April, 1427),¹ were the real measure of the strength of English feeling on the subject of the reservations. In the new year of 1428, Chichele and other bishops went, at Martin's bidding, from the lords to the refectory at Westminster and pleaded with tears for the revocation of the Provisors Statute ; but the battle for Martin was lost : everyone knew that the previous year a Papal envoy had been imprisoned,² and that letters from the Holy See had been impounded by order of Bedford.³ When parliament had made its decision in the negative, John Kemp could write to the bishop of Dax that everyone, including Humphrey of Gloucester, had shown the greatest good will towards the Holy See—so much had not been shown for fifty years—but the "credulity" of the temporal Lords (and, we may suggest, of the Commons) had done its work.⁴ The archbishop had only to bow to the storm for a while. Next year his legatine authority was restored.⁵ Bedford had yielded in France, but in England he had followed the example of the Norman kings, and followed it successfully.

The Archbishop's humiliation had been bitter. No less than thrice he protested against the Papal action in the spring of 1427,⁶ and his

¹ *Concilia*, iii, 484-485.

² *Johannis Amundesham Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 13.

³ *Concilia*, iii, 486.

⁴ MS. Cotton Cleopatra C. iv, fol. 164 v. : "eatenus ut audenter vestre [af]firmem fraternitati, quod a quinquaginta annis citra in hoc regno non sit visum dominos saltem temporales tante cum devotionis affectu, tantaque benevolentia, se applicasse votis cuius[cun]que patrum occupantis sedem Petri. 'Quid [rectius] quos] vero eorum in hoc credulitas fructus parturiuerit vel effectus, dominus videlicet London' episcopus, dominus de le Scrop baro, Richardus de Hastings miles et Magister Willelmus Lynwode, utriusque juris doctor, quos ad s. d. n. presenciam in proximo venturos regia celsitudo disposuit, vestri donante domino curabunt exponere fraternitati."

⁵ *Cal. Papal Lett.* viii, 64-65.

⁶ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 485 ; MS. Ashmole 789, fol. 224 ; Inner Temple, Petyt MS. 55, p. 88.

peace with Martin he was only able to purchase by the "deeds" that Martin prescribed¹—his personal pleading in parliament. It is all the more noticeable, then, that in the early stages of the Council of Basel he did not throw himself enthusiastically into the Conciliar cause, but maintained a guarded attitude, and one, if anything, favourable to Eugenius IV. As early as 23 February, 1431, the Southern Convocation discussed names of persons to go to the General Council which was imminent, and actually nominated delegates, but did not finally decide who should go until definite news about the assembly arrived.² On 15 November Chichele sent out the invitation of Cesarini (dated 29 Sept., 1431) to his suffragans,³ but little individual, and no official, action seems to have been taken. In the early months of 1432 there was only one Englishman incorporated in the Council—a representative of the dioceses of Bath and Wells, Lincoln and Worcester.⁴ In July, 1432, a deputation from the Council of Basel, headed by Gerard Landriani, bishop of Lodi, arrived to persuade the English Government to send representatives. As a result of Landriani's advocacy Henry wrote urging Eugenius to recognize the Council⁵ which he had attempted to dissolve by the bull of 18 December, 1431, and the deputation found favour both with Beaufort and—a surprising fact—with Gloucester. The official English delegation was appointed in December, 1432.⁶ There is no record of Landriani's dealings with Chichele; Dr. Zellfelder suggested that the Archbishop's dislike of Cesarini, the leading spirit at the Council, and his hostility to Beaufort may account for his unsympathetic attitude.⁷ The simpler explanation is that he had got wind of the bull of dissolution some time before it was read in Convocation (16 Sept., 1432);⁸ but the very fact that delegates were appointed on 24 September, in spite of the bull, to go

¹ *Concilia*, iii, 473-474; cf. p. 479.

² "Communicatum fuit inter eosdem de personis ydoneis ad generale concilium Pisanis [*sic*] ut dicebatur celebrandam transmittendis et tandem appunctuauerunt certas personas, sed non tunc finaliter diffinierunt que transirent, quia licet rumores fuerant tunc de huiusmodi concilio generali celebrando non tamen certitudinaliter super hoc fuerant informati" (Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 82).

³ *Concilia*, iii, 518-519.

⁴ Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*, ii, 52.

⁵ Mansi, xxix, 372.

⁶ Rymer, x, 529.

⁷ *England und das Basler Konzil* (1913), p. 57. This is a brilliant study, but often too rapid and arbitrary in its conclusions.

⁸ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 87 v.

to the Council at the same time as an embassy (on the matter of the dissolution) to the Pope,¹ shows that we must not overstate the Archbishop's opposition. Dr. Zellfelder was on insecure ground when he suggested that personal motives weighed with him to such an extent ; two difficulties there were of a very different character. In the first place, to the Archbishop's legal mind, the dissolution was a fact which could not be got over ; and the clergy, when asked their opinion in the November Convocation of 1433, thought so too,² although representatives had already been sent to Basel ; secondly, he was utterly opposed to the Council's system of voting in deputations rather than by nations.³ The new method favoured the more numerous contingents, and it was not the policy of the English Government or of the two Convocations, amid financial stringencies, to subsidize a large delegation for a considerable period ; and there was the further difficulty of the oath of incorporation. Convocation was prepared to send greater numbers, if the oath, which our delegates strongly disliked, was not insisted upon.⁴ It was hesitations such as these, together with their apprehension of a possible softening on the part of the Council towards Peter Payne and the Bohemian heretics, that both made the English late-comers at the Council, and prevented them taking the lively and often decisive part which they had sustained at Pisa and Constance. On the other hand, the dispute over the see of Worcester, vacant by the death of Thomas Polton, the leading English delegate at the Council, precluded any real understanding with Eugenius.⁵ Crotchety and insular the English must have appeared to those vainly trying, by means of conciliar diplomacy, to heal the long dispute between the Governments of Henry VI and Charles VII.

In all these negotiations, which demand a far more delicate and detailed exposition than I can give here, Chichele appears to have

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 88. The subsidy of twopence in the pound for the delegates was granted at the same time (fol. 89).

² Ibid., fol. 94 v ; *Concilia*, iii, 522.

³ At Basel Thomas Polton of Worcester protested on behalf of Henry VI, and Peter Partridge on behalf of Chichele, against the Deputation system, while in the English Parliament Lyndwood (not "Linewode," as Zellfelder, who fails to recognize the canonist, calls him) made a similar declaration. The three documents are given by Zellfelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-256.

⁴ See the replies of the clergy to the questions put them by Chichele, in Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 95, and *Concilia*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *C.P.L.* viii, 212-219.

stood with the majority in the English Council; his exact part in them is often extremely difficult to determine. He was probably not far from the Wykehamical Thomas Bekyngton, the official helping to form the official mind. Dean Hook makes no attempt to survey these events or to disentangle his hero from a difficult diplomatic background. To him the archbishop is already "aged" in 1426, though he was probably not more than fifty-eight; it is now time to behold him in his capacity of founder and benefactor. Arthur Duck, on the other hand, without strict adherence to the Archbishop, pursues the narrative of the Council from Basel to Ferrara and Florence, interspersing it here and there with notes from the Convocation material in the Archbishop's register. But there is no attempt to gauge the influence in the foreign relations of this country exercised by a chief prelate who was neither a Conciliar nor a papalist, but a follower still of Henry V, treading cautiously, with medieval steps, in a world where the diplomatic prelate of the renaissance had already made his glamorous and sometimes very disturbing appearance. It is hard to say whether, if the English had come early and in strong numbers to Basel, events would have gone the way they did at the Congress of Arras in 1435; but it is worth asking the question.

II.

The clerk who crossed to the Surrey shore and entered the manor of Lamhithe would encounter one who was the centre of more than ordinary jurisdiction, a dignitary who was both diocesan and metropolitan, moving in a legal society responsible for the smooth and responsive running of his province as well as for the good order of his own diocese and peculiars. The Archbishop's status gave him the pre-eminent place in the Council; as papal representative in England it was his duty to hear "the complaints of all and sundry his subordinates" on petition (*per viam querele*) or appeal from the consistory courts, and as metropolitan to visit his dioceses and to administer vacant sees, to preside in the synod of his province known as Convocation, and to uphold Catholic doctrine by acting as "principal inquisitor" (the phrase is Chichele's own) in a land which knew not the Holy Office. Each of these activities involved him in a mass of administration that found its way, to a greater or less degree, into his register, the routine record of his archiepiscopate. Of recent years

administrative history has concerned itself primarily with the civil service that grew out of the King's Household. There are indications that in the near future it will be occupied almost as much with the inner technique of the province, the diocese and the monastery, and that the reactions in the later Middle Ages between the two great spheres of administration, civil and ecclesiastical, will ultimately be studied for the light they throw upon the working co-operation of the two communities in the century before the Reformation.

The Archbishop (or his registrar) had to be a systematic person. Apart from his own need of accurate information about the personnel and the benefices of his own diocese, at any moment the Exchequer might ask questions that involved the scrutiny of records. Have the nuns of Malling appropriated the church of East Malling and, if so, how long have they so held it? The Archbishop returns that he has searched the "writs, rolls, registers and evidences" in his possession, both his own and his predecessors', and discovered that the church was appropriated throughout Henry IV's reign.¹ In the October-December Convocation of 1415 the clergy granted the king two-tenths with the usual exceptions (poor nuns, hospitals, benefices destroyed or otherwise diminished). In the autumn of 1416 the collectors who had paid in the money were seeking quittance at the Exchequer, but the barons could not grant them this because they had no exact information about the benefices to be so exempted. The Archbishop is asked to scrutinize his registers and other evidences and to make a complete return of all such churches appropriated to religious houses or hospitals within his diocese and jurisdiction, and to give full particulars of vicarages ordained therein, together with the assessment of these vicarages.² When Lincoln fell vacant in 1436 the Archbishop had to forward to the barons of the Exchequer a list of all unassessed and non-tithe-paying benefices and dignities of the annual value of twelve marks and upwards.³ The examiner-general of the Prerogative Court and the dean of the Arches had to be kept supplied with details and particulars which were forwarded to them along with their commissions to hear the cases in question. The heavy office-work of the Court of

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 373.

² Ibid., ii, 373 v, 374.

³ Ibid., ii, fol. 377 v: mandate (20 July) to Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire to distrain the Archbishop so as to make him reply to the inquiry.

Canterbury could therefore only be carried on by careful filing and indexing in the first instance, and later, in the preparation of the register, by the segregation into groups of the quires upon which the material was copied to form the *registrum*, ultimately to be bound together after the Archbishop's decease. There was one group for the bulls of provision and translation together with other material touching appointments to sees and abbacies; another for the institutions, exchanges and other routine business in the diocese of Canterbury; and others for the wills of the Prerogative Court, Convocation, the administration of vacant sees, visitation records, commissions to officials, miscellaneous letters and royal writs. In the later stages of Chichele's pontificate the quires do not always seem to have been written up punctually. Though he died in 1443, the last report of a Convocation is 1439; with one exception his commissions do not run beyond 1434. Internal evidence suggests that the scribes would wait until a good quantity of material had accumulated before they carried out their task.

It is impossible to think of Henry Chichele without the *familia* whose book his register to a great extent is, from the superb chancellor, William Lyndwood, the author of the *Provinciale*, down to the servants whom *dominus* rewards with the keepership of the southern gate of the Cathedral precincts or the office of woodman in the manor of Westgate. We can see him with his steward, the supervisor of his manors, his pages (*domicelli*), his scutifer, his cross-bearers, as they pass from Lambeth to Otford, Langley Marish, Ford, or the Palace of Canterbury itself. When he conducts his visitations, the legal members of the family will be with him and share his tasks. On his first eyre, the visitation of his own see, Dr. Matthew Assheton and Robert Raulyn (whom Assheton was to succeed as commissary-general) were commissioned to visit the religious houses which the Archbishop could not himself reach (*e.g.* Minster in Sheppey),¹ and to exercise "all manner of jurisdiction" there. When the Archbishop went as metropolitan to visit Chichester in 1423, the family divided: while Chichele was giving his injunctions in the Chapter-house and

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 248 v. It is worth noticing that Raulyn, who in earlier days had been a colleague of Chichele's on the chapter of Abergwilly, had followed him from St. Davids, where he had acted as Vicar-General to Bishop Guy Mone.

discussed with the dean and chapter the changing of their Use to that of his beloved Sarum, Lyndwood and the indispensable Thomas Brouns, LL.D., were visiting the clergy and people of Chichester in the nave, "whence after the midday meal the lord Archbishop with his *familia* departed to his manor of Slyndon."¹ When he went the same year upon his visitation to Salisbury, a similar thing took place; on 13 September, while his injunctions were being read over in his presence to the dean and canons assembled in the Chapter-house, Robert Raulyn was visiting the clergy and people of Salisbury in St. Thomas's parish church.² After leaving the cathedral city he and others of his *familia* divided the several deaneries of Dorset and Wiltshire between them.³

The legal notabilities of the family constituted the *Curia Cantuariensis*, a body in its flexibility reminding one of the Curia regis of the later twelfth century. The commissions in the register are the best introduction to its personnel, and the names show that, like the office of the privy seal, it was a training-ground for the episcopate as well as the chief practising centre of the Canon Law in England. Philip Morgan, who had been auditor in Arundel's day, Henry Ware, Lyndwood's colleague as official during the first years of Chichele's regime, John Kemp, dean of the Arches, and Thomas Brouns were all promoted to sees; of their less celebrated but no less hard-working associates, the names of John Estcourt (examiner-general), John Perche (registrar), Raulyn, Assheton and John Lyndfeld (who succeeded Assheton) frequently occur. The text-books generally point to three distinct jurisdictions exercised by the Archbishop: the Court of Arches in St. Mary-le-Bow, the Prerogative Court of Wills and the Archbishop's own Court of Audience. No doubt these distinctions are technically correct; but the personnel, like that of the early Curia regis, was by no means rigid: Lyndwood, who, as official, unified the whole Curia, would sometimes leave the *audiencia* where he had been sitting with or without the Archbishop to act with Kemp and Estcourt in matrimonial or testamentary cases *in consistorio nostro de arcubus*; Estcourt, the examiner-general, is given power "to hear and proceed in all cases in the said courts, to wit the Court

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 252.

² Ibid., ii, fol. 257 v.

³ Ibid., ii, fols. 258, 258 v.

of Arches, and to do what justice demands," when the official and dean of that Court are absent, definitive sentence being reserved to the official and dean.¹ In most of the commissions for trial in the Arches the official is omitted; Kemp (the dean) and Estcourt alone figure in the numerous cases of divorce, restitution of conjugal rights, tithe, disputes over compresentation, non-fulfilment of contract. Sometimes these are matters which have remained undecided in the *audiencia*; more often they are brought *per viam querele* or *per viam appellationis*. Chichele states the point in a sentence of common form:

"We therefore who by right of our legation and as possessing the prerogative of our Church of Canterbury can and ought to hear all the cases of each of our suffragans subject to us, which come to our hearing by appeal or by complaint, since we are admittedly representatives of the lord Pope in our said province. . . ."²

A considerable proportion of these cases are heard *per viam querele et jure legacionis nostre*. What distinction then can be drawn between the jurisdictions of the Arches and of the Audience? Lyndwood's lengthy commission as chancellor and auditor³ qualifies him for all forms of jurisdiction: he is permitted to proceed "in every case and in all business belonging in any way to our cognizance and also in the audience of our court." The real difference, of course, is that the *audiencia* represents the Archbishop's original undelegated jurisdiction, which runs concurrently with what he delegates to the Arches. We are reminded a little of the relations between *coram rege* and the bench of common pleas in the early days of the thirteenth century. An excellent example of the nature of the *audiencia* comes from 1420. On 9 June the Archbishop, about to join Henry V in France, commissioned Lyndwood in his absence to hear and determine all cases and matters arising in the Court of

¹ "And after you [Estcourt] have written or have caused to be written the depositions of the first witness, in order that loss of time in writing be saved, you are especially to note when the statements of subsequent witnesses agree or disagree with those of the first witness, and you are to warn the parties at litigation to answer, under ecclesiastical penalty, the questions put to them by the Court and to have their answers drawn up in writing" (Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 263).

² Ibid., ii, fol. 265.

³ Ibid., ii, fol. 266.

Audience "by reason of our legation," excepting only the case where Lyndwood was a party to the suit.¹ On 18 November Chichele was back at Portsmouth and wrote to Lyndwood saying that he recollected giving the other a commission to last only till he was back in England: "lest therefore anyone's right in the causes and matters before you perish, to his detriment, on the ground of it being asserted that we have returned [and that your commission is no longer valid], we make you our representative for further hearing and proceeding with such cases, just as we did before in the same matters that were being tried before you and others of our Audience of Causes."² The Archbishop's return would *ipso facto* cancel the commission, and the delay in the Audience might be to the prejudice of litigants unless the commission were at once continued or renewed. This shows clearly that the Audience was regarded as the primate's special court with an authority derived from his presence alone. No commission such as Lyndwood here received was ever issued to the judges in the Arches.

So much for the *jus legationis* held because of the prerogative of Canterbury. What of the *jus metropoliticum*? Its immediate privileges and duties arose in connection with the conduct of vacant sees, the visitation of the dioceses in his province, the presidency of the provincial synod or council, together with the punishment of those who did not attend, the preservation of orthodox doctrine against Lollardy, the making and upholding of provincial constitutions, the transmission to the clergy of requests and commands from the king. All these activities find their way into the Archbishop's register. It is clear that Chichele firmly upheld his *jus*; and constitutional questions for a moment apart, there are personal touches here and there in his record which show what a determined sort of man was *dominus noster*. It may seem strange to us that he should summon the vicars of two St. Albans churches, St. Peters and Watford, for not exhibiting due respect to him by failing to ring the bells when he came southwards through that area in 1414;³ but what was at stake was his metropolitan's power against a great exempt jurisdiction. The issue came up again over an incident at Barnet in 1426. The St.

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 284. The case in which Lyndwood was involved was against Thomas Bercley for the prebend of Hundreton in Hereford Cathedral. Cf. fol. 285 v.

² Ibid., ii, fol. 284 v.

³ Ibid., ii, fol. 294 v.

Albans writer reports that *propter non pulsationem campanarum* the Archbishop sealed the doors of the church, but that the archdeacon of St. Albans gleefully removed the seal and passed freely in.¹ Such conduct could not be winked at; while on a week's visit to St. Albans that year Chichele came to an agreement with the abbot on the question of the *reverentialia*: the bells were to be rung and processions formed when the Archbishop passed through any place in the liberty of St. Albans: in other respects the rights of the exempt jurisdiction were to be respected.² That indeed did not absolve the abbot from the duty of attending Convocation. Chichele was particularly insistent upon this point, especially with the prelates of the religious orders. Both in 1416 and 1417 he had to declare his intention of proceeding against all who, *tantum filii alieni et degeneres*, failed to appear. In 1416 a good number of the greater abbots, including those of Tewkesbury, Ramsey, Reading, Cirencester and Sherborne had to seek absolution *pro non comparicione*.³ He could soften at times, as for instance when he forgave the bishop of London's commissary for not sending out the writs of summons in proper time, and imposed no penalty upon him.⁴ But the tears which he allowed to flow on certain occasions, notably when he pleaded for the abolition of the Statute of Provisors in January, 1428, were his servant rather than his master. In the Convocation of December, 1428, the assembly in which, after a great round-up of Lollards, the prelates of the religious were asked whether they would receive heretics into their prisons, Chichele had before him an obstinate fellow, Ralph Mungyn, who had been four months in the Fleet. When he refused to abjure his opinions the Archbishop exhorted him "tearfully and most mercifully," as one suspected of error and heresy, to make the declaration. In the margin the scribe has written the comment: "crocodile's tears."⁵

The Archbishop, as we saw, had to provide for the spiritual needs of a see when it fell vacant. In the case of London, Lincoln, Salisbury and Worcester, as Miss Graham has pointed out,⁶ during the

¹ "Liberrime pertransiit": *Amundesham, Annales*, i, 7.

² Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 364 v. This is wrongly attributed by the editor of the St. Albans Chronicler to 1423; *Amundesham*, i, 3.

³ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, fol. 12 v.

⁵ "Crocodili lachryme": ii, fol. 73.

⁶ *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* 4th ser. vol. xii, p. 50.

thirteenth century the Cathedral Chapters had made compositions with the metropolitan giving them a voice in the appointment of the diocesan official and a share in the administration during the vacancy. Such was not the case with Coventry and Lichfield, the first see in Chichele's long pontificate to fall vacant (1414). There he appointed his own representatives (two canons of the Cathedral), a sequestrator and a penitentiary-general. On receipt of the commission the senior canon, Walter Bullock, immediately went to take possession of the episcopal palace in the Close, and received from the late bishop's executor the keys of the gate and of the other buildings within the palace.¹ In the consistory court, where he sat from month to month, Bullock made the advocates and proctors take the oath of obedience to the Archbishop. The administration began with a visitation of the prior and convent and the several archdeaconries. It is interesting to note that when the Archbishop's commissary was visiting the priory, he went home to take his midday meal and paid for it himself (*nota pro jure domini* is the scribe's marginal comment); for, as the register observes, every ordinary in visiting the Cathedral Church could choose whether he would take his procuration in food and drink, or in ten marks.² Bullock (was he a northerner?) chose to take the money and pay for the food eaten. A fair proportion of this *sede vacante* register is occupied with the election of Benedicta Pryde by compromise to be abbess of Polesworth; wills are responsible for several folios, but the bulk of it is concerned with ordinations, institutions and exchanges. It is worth noting that the Archbishop had, by devolution, the right of collating to free chapels in the diocese. The next vacant see administered by Chichele was Norwich, for the first time (as there were two vacancies) on the death of Richard Courtenay at Harfleur in September, 1415. Here the officials deputed were William Westacre and Chichele's own *familiaris*, Matthew Assheton. Assheton took the oath as official for Norwich in the great chamber of Saltwood Castle; he took it "according to the form of a composition long made between the holy Church of Canterbury and Norwich over the exercise of jurisdiction in the bishopric of Norwich as often as it shall happen to be vacant"—one more special case to add to Miss Graham's list. It worked thus: the

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 118.

² Ibid., ii, fol. 120.

Archbishop was to exercise all the jurisdiction possessed by the bishop of Norwich during the vacancy, excepting visitation of the chapter, city and diocese of Norwich, and the inquiry and punishment of offences discovered there; for their own visitation the chapter had the right of presenting to the Archbishop, within a fortnight from the beginning of the vacancy, three persons, from whom the Archbishop should select one. This they did, and Chichele appointed William Silton, monk of the Cathedral Church, to act *vice et auctoritate nostris*; while for the visitation of the city and diocese Assheton appointed Master Thomas Fryng.¹ The same procedure in regard to the Chapter took place in 1425, though in this case the Chapter representative visited city and diocese as well, and was commissioned not by the official but by the Archbishop.² It is worth noting that the awkward questions on poor benefices which we noted as being asked by the Exchequer in 1416 were duly put by Chichele to his official Assheton, and one other interesting entry shows us the prior and convent of Wymundham protesting against being made collectors of the subsidy against an earlier royal concession to the mother house of St. Albans exempting her and her daughter houses from any such obligation. The third vacancy was Salisbury: on the death of Hallum (4 Sept., 1417), in accordance with the composition made between Boniface of Savoy and the chapter, the dean (Chandler) and chapter presented three canons from whom Chichele was to select: Simon Sydenham, Richard Ullerston and Robert Brown:³ Sydenham, as we know from the commissions, was his choice.⁴ Hereford, administered in 1416, had no such rights: the commission to John, one of its canons, is the only part of this section preserved. Chichester in 1415,⁵ besides its newly appointed officials (a local canon and one of Chichele's clerics, the dean of the collegiate church of South Malling), had its sequestrator appointed not by the Archbishop direct, as at Coventry and Lichfield, but by the keepers of spiritualities as *subdelegatus*; and neither of the keepers sat in the consistory of Lewes, but appointed a substitute for that purpose. The first Chichester *sede vacante* register is the fullest and most interesting of those we possess: it runs from July, 1415, to May, 1418, and besides

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fol. 150, 150 v.

² Ibid., ii, fol. 221 v.

⁴ Ibid., ii, fol. 272 v.

³ Ibid., ii, fol. 181 f.

⁵ Ibid., ii, fol. 188.

the visitation of the keepers and a very full group of institutions which includes a complete list of the canons of Chichester, it contains the majority of ecclesiastical legislation passed in Convocation during these years. The second vacancy of Chichester in the Archbishop's time occurred in 1429.¹ There is little need to add that in the matter of patronage the king did well out of the repeated vacancies of that diocese. We might also note that throughout these registers the Archbishop was able to secure a pretty uniform system of entry and registration. His method of joining one of his specially intimate *familiares* with the local official appointed helped to secure this end.

The right of the Archbishop to visit the sees of his suffragans and to take procurations there is one of the most firmly grounded of metropolitical rights. Such a visitation in Chichele's time undoubtedly caused some excitement in the diocese selected for visitation, and even after five hundred years the anticipation of amusing, if somewhat discreditable, *comperta* still whets the student's appetite. But the record of Chichele's visitations, just as it refuses to satisfy a passion for significant detail, fails likewise—*laudetur altissimus*, as his scribe remarked—to gratify a taste for the scandalous. The sees visited were Canterbury (1413, both ordinary and metropolitical); Rochester (1418), Chichester and Salisbury (1423). The records are very short. No articles of inquiry are given, but much can be gleaned from the returns made by the officials of the archdeaconries or by the heads of religious houses as to the nature of the questions put. The Archbishop comes to examine the title of all incumbents, to investigate the moral and financial condition of the cathedral church, the archdeaconries and the religious houses, and to correct by injunction and penance the errors revealed by his questions. Like the justice in eyre his presence suspended all other judicial processes whatsoever, unless (as was normally done) he gave letters dimissory to the archdeacons, permitting them to exercise their usual functions, saving always the correction of matters detected on his visit. "And know," wrote his clerk when Chichele was going through Sarum, "that from the day on which the bishop of Salisbury received the writs our lord archbishop exercised all manner of spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."² No one was permitted to "attempt" anything to the prejudice of those metropolitical rights.

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, 241 f.

² Ibid., ii, fol. 258 v.

The visitation of the religious houses offers most points of interest. The Archbishop freely exercised his right to change the obedientiaries—to “exonerate” them, as the phrase went. At Bysham Montague, in the diocese of Salisbury, he found Edmund Redyng the cellarer so occupied with his duties that he could not attend to the office of sub-prior, which he held concurrently. Chichele “by his metropolitanical authority exonerated him from the office of cellarer and onerated him with the care of religion.”¹ At Abingdon he exonerated brother Ralph Hamur of his offices of kitchener, woodman and keeper of the Trinity : ² evidently the brother could not attend both to the altar as well as to the provisioning. These “exonerations” raise some important questions of internal organization. Offices seem to have been duplicated more freely than the archbishop considered desirable. But at Abingdon there were more serious faults and the registrar’s clerk specially noted it along with Abbotsbury, Maiden Bradley and Bysham as one of the places needing reform.³ Chichele did not allow it enough time on his visit as originally planned to give his injunctions : places where offences detected were not serious could be dealt with *capitulariter*, that is by the Archbishop giving his own admonitions orally to the monks assembled in their chapter house ; to Abingdon longer instructions were written and sent in November, after the Archbishop’s return ; they had to be written in the various books normally read in the hour of chapter and proclaimed aloud at least once a year in October. They are sane, thoughtful instructions, framed for a community that had fallen into serious condition both spiritually and temporally. The abbot, who in other respects evidently a weak character, had been an acceptor of persons and his conduct had led to the growth of *conventicula*, caucuses within the house, and a consequent crop of *delationes* or tales told by irresponsible and over-busy persons. Chichele took measures to silence the hum of scandal ; one of his injunctions was to forbid all messing in special or private rooms, where such discord was specially fomented over drink.⁴

If we are wandering far from our authors it is because their interest lay less in the administrator than in the political figure that

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 255, 255 v.

² Ibid., ii, fol. 258 v.

³ Ibid., ii, fol. 256 v.

⁴ Ibid., ii, fols. 258 v, 259.

had to hold his own with Bedford, Beaufort and other members of the Council, to say nothing of the Pope. Each at the end comes back to the liberality of his final years. Each comments on his concern for the promotion of University graduates, and the Dean gives a sympathetic but erroneous account of the measures taken in Convocation to that end. From a letter printed in Mr. Anstey's *Epistolae Academicæ* we know that the gratitude of Oxford was not diminished by the fact that Chichele realized how difficult it was to secure an agreed scheme for promotion without asking the University to relax its statutes on degrees in favour of the religious.¹ When such a scheme was eventually forthcoming, the records of Convocation show that the bishops were very slow in giving effect to it.² The problem of getting a job (in a benefice) was as hard for the young master or bachelor then as it is for the student who has passed through the Final Honour Schools to-day. But the Archbishop was also concerned with the problem from an earlier stage: he was anxious, as his prologue to his statutes of All Souls has it, to help the *militia* of this country in his own small way, *spiritualiter vel temporaliter*; for, as he explains, he was full of sadness when he contemplated the state of "that unarmed clerical army, because of want at home and the other miseries of this world that daily decayeth, as well as when he beheld the general disease of his secular army, greatly diminished by the wars between England and France"; the more so as he recollected how Church and State alike had made England formidable to her adversaries and splendid among the nations abroad. The harmony of the two powers in the creation of a greater England was his ideal, and we must not pour too much scorn on the Tudor historians who emphasized his nationalism. The ideas of Henry V were still a powerful force long after his death. The distinction between the national sentiment of the fifteenth and that of the sixteenth century is that the sixteenth laid emphasis on the predominance of the secular power in the building of the island State, while the fifteenth looked to the balanced co-operation of both "militias." Perhaps Sir Thomas

¹ Oxford Hist. Soc., i, 22-24. For the thorny subject of the promotion of graduates see Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 11 v, 13 v, 16, 26 v, 27-28, 105, 106-108.

² *Epistolae Academicæ*, i, 1-2, though relating to the first scheme for promotion authorized by Convocation, shows the difficulty.

Moore is the last great representative of that fifteenth-century concordance.

We need not dwell with the dean on the foundation of St. Bernard's College, with its gate-house into St. Giles, so closely resembling the later structure of the Archbishop in the High Street. He is right in emphasizing Chichele's love of collegiate life, seen in his creation of the beautiful Bede House and the College, now a distinguished skeleton, in Higham Ferrers; there is more to be added about the part that Wingham and South Malling took, under his guidance, in the diocesan life of Canterbury; but Oxford is now the theme, and Chichele had before him, in his Register, the record of Richard Flemming's union in 1429 of St. Mildred's and St. Michael's into All Saints, and the appointment of a rector and a certain number of Fellows and Scholars to form the College of the Blessed Mary and All Saints of Lincoln in Oxford.¹ What we know about that remarkable Papalist bishop suggests that the foundation was not unconnected with the desire to combat unorthodox opinions by the spread of sound doctrine, and this the statutes for Lincoln bear out. Chichele, on the other hand, was as much concerned with strengthening the practical and vocational studies of the University, the Canon and the Civil Law, which, as he says in the statutes for All Souls, are "useful and necessary in politics and government." We can imagine Lyndwood writing the sentence for him. The division of artists (24) and jurists (16) among the Fellows and Scholars of his new foundation of "the souls of all the faithful departed" befitted a place whose spiritual purpose was to pray for the monarch and the men that had fallen in the service of the State. The association of Henry VI as co-founder set the seal on this public aspect of the College, besides facilitating the process of its partial endowment with the lands of the alien priories. How Alberbury, which belonged to the Order of Grandmont, came into the hands of the College in 1441 has been already related by Miss Graham.² By 1447 the priory of Romney and the rectory of Upchurch (Kew), that belonged to the house of St. Mary *de Insula Dei* (Normandy), and the priories of St. Clere and Llangenith in Pembrokeshire had been made over to Richard Andrew,

¹ Reg. Chichele, ii, fols. 290 v., 291. The consent of the Archdeacon of Oxford, the last stage in the process, was given in 1438.

² *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (1929), p. 209 f.

the first Warden, to add to the profitable Bedford and Buckingham manors of Long Crendon, Salford, Morton and Foxcote, and the Middlesex estates of Edgeware, Kingsbury and Willesden. Some future historian of the College must tell the story of these endowments. A splendid store of charters lies to his hand.

The statutes show that the Founder had much of Wykeham's spirit of discipline and mastery of detail. The order of places at table, the regulation of commons by the price of bread, even the duties of the steward of the week are minutely set down; everywhere Latin is to be used; in it "*modesto et curiali modo loquantur*," though the Latin rule might be relaxed in the presence of strangers or laymen. As a good New College man Chichele made many borrowings from Wykeham's Statutes; one of the most obvious concerns the library, then divided into the chained or "confined" books and the supply for circulation, given out annually at the "elections."¹ Neither of our authors have been specially interested in the learned purpose of the foundation, though the dean significantly notes that the chapel was consecrated to the memory of the four doctors of the Church. The two earliest lists of books in the library, both of them contained in inventories of Chichele's gifts to the College, bear out the importance attached by Chichele to Jerome, Augustine and Gregory.² The year after the foundation Gascoigne gave his copy of Gregory's register to the College³ a splendid twelfth-century volume (there was another copy as well), while the sermons and the *moralia* are well represented. The letters of Jerome figured prominently; they were kept, when the lectern system was fully developed, chained like Nicholas de Lyra's Postils on the centre desk in the *communis libraria*, which had eight lecterns on either side, one group for theology and arts, the other for law. Henry VI gave a fine copy of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, which, like Gascoigne's *Gregory*, still survives among the College manuscripts.⁴ Among the more interesting arts books are the Commentary of Peter of Candia on the Sentences, Burley on the Ethics, Sharpe on the Physics and Thomas Netter of Walden's great *Doctrinale*. The collection of Canon Law can only be described as

¹ For the system cf. F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, pp. 12-18.

² Appendix, *infra*, pp. 470, 471.

³ *Infra*, pp. 470, 471.

⁴ *Infra*, pp. 470, 471.

remarkable. Besides the usual collections of canons, I have noted works by Godfrey de Fontibus, Antonio de Butrio, Zabarella and John Calderini. The volumes of law for circulation amounted to nearly seventy. It is pleasant to find a Canterbury rector, John Lovelych,¹ leaving some of his legal texts in his will to his patron's college.² There was a considerable chained collection of astronomy and medicine. There was also a large miscellaneous class of theology and medical work for distribution. When one contrasts this early list with the contents of the Merton library, one can see how strongly practical was Chichele's vision: the library is a good, all-round working collection, not an assemblage of specialist theology and philosophy. Most of it seems to have been collected for the College by the Archbishop himself: in several cases the donor's name is mentioned. Peter Partridge, for example, gave a number of works on logic and metaphysics. In the vestibule of the chapel were kept the antiphonals, graduals and other works for divine service, which the Archbishop presented; and there too was stored the magnificent collection of vestments, of which we have full particulars,³ together with the altar cloths—the frontal and superfrontal of red silk, the frontal with the white lambs, the “cloths of white worsted steyned, with angels holding in their hands Emanuel.” We cannot enumerate here the images, the relics, the organ, the bells, the bronze eagle given by Thomas Chichele, and the secular jewels and treasures which the Archbishop placed in the hands of the *custos jocalium*. There is enough to make a stout appendix to any early history of the College; certainly the vestments should find their way into any treatise on *opus Anglicanum*: the details could surely find illustration from elsewhere.

We said above that Chichele was deeply concerned about the poverty of scholars in the University. Mr. Gibson's recent edition of the Statutes has given us the full text, from Register F., of the regulations made by Congregation in 1432 for the fund which he established for aiding Colleges or individuals. The ordinance for the Chichele Chest⁴ states that out of compassion for the poverty of masters and

¹ He was at first rector of St. Martin outside the Walls (Reg. Chichele, i, fol. 107), and later instituted as rector of St. Alphege (ibid., i, fol. 172).

² Ibid., i, fol. 464 v.

³ Archives of All Souls Coll., Misc. nos. 209, 210.

⁴ “Quam cistam, ex eiusdem reuerendissimi patris cognomine speciali, Cistam Chichele Anglice *Chichele Wyche* pro perpetuo nominare, ac dictas

students at the University of Oxford the Archbishop had established a fund of two hundred marks, out of which loans could be made under the direction of two regent and one non-regent masters, to those requiring assistance. From it the University might borrow, on a single occasion, a hundred shillings, or a college five marks; a regent or non-regent master studying in the University, forty shillings; a licentiate in any faculty, two and a half marks; a bachelor two marks, and a scholar one mark. All with reasonable security,¹ and no sums to go out unless the recipient had repaid any previous loan made by the chest.² For this the Archbishop was enrolled among the benefactors of the University, and his name was to be read aloud "when the priest goes round the schools of the several masters to pray for the benefactors of the University"; and each recipient was to undertake to pray, while the Archbishop still lived, for his good estate, and after his death, for his soul and "the souls of all benefactors of the said chest and all the faithful departed." The remembrance of his University and his College is still his reward.

CC marcas in utilitatem magistrorum et scholarium in universitate predicta studencium per viam mutui conuerti volumus secundum modum et formam per nos (the chancellor and regent masters) ordinatos et subscriptos": S. Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, p. 249. For the thanks of the University, cf. *Epistolae Academicæ*, i, 74-75.

¹ Which might be books, deposited by the recipient of the loan, at the chest. For an example, cf. Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

APPENDIX.

AN EARLY BOOK LIST OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE.¹

All Souls College Archives, Miscellanea, No. 210. Shortly after 1440.

Heading :— Hec sunt bona data Collegio animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum in Oxonia per Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Henricum Chichele permissione diuina Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, fundatorem Collegii predicti. Qui vero aliquid eorundem a predicto Collegio contra statuta dicti fundatoris alienauerit Anathema sit amen.

Endorsement :— Communis indentura omnium bonorum Collegii.
[The list begins on m. 2 of the roll and forms the right-hand column.]

LIBRI THEOLOGIE CATHENATI.

- [m. 2] Biblia 2° fol. *-ba di-*.
Una concordancia 2° fol. *sicut vestimentum*.
Magister historiarum 2° fo. *quia tremant*.
Magister historiarum 2° fo. *festinaui ad*.
Prima pars Lire 2° fo. *liber et*.
2a pars 2° fo. *pronunciatum est*.
Lira super nouum testamentum 2° fo. *fatearisque*.
3a pars Lire 2° fo. *non est in eo*.
Ysyderus super Pentateuchum 2° fo. *videt hic*.
Gorram super iiii^{or} Evangelia 2° fo. *Christi per adopcionem*.
Liber de signis biblie 2° fo. *et finaliter*.
Thomas super Lucam et Johannem 2° fo. *esse nemo*.
Bonauentura super Lucam et Johannem 2° fo. *non alienum*.
Liber xii prophetarum postillaris 2° fo. *annis xv*.
Glosa ordinaria super Ysayam 2° fo. *ergo prudens*.
Glosa super I Genesim 2° fo. *que nostra est*.
Exposicio super apocalypsim 2° fo. *in prima*.
Radulphus super apocalypsim² 2° fo. *loquente*.
Glosa communis super psalterium 2° fo. *-tubus non*.
Glosa communis super psalterium 2° fo. *itaque*.
Job glosatus 2° fo. *omni genere*.

¹ My thanks are due to the College for permission to print this extract.

² Radulphus Flaviacensis. Cf. All Souls Coll. MS. XIII, Flaviacensis on Leviticus, given by Warden Hoveden.

Flores psalterii 2° fo. *in hebreo*.
 Postilla super Johannem 2° fo. *secundum tamen*.
 Augustinus super psalmo lxxx 2° fo. *si vixit*.
 Augustinus in melleloquio¹ 2° fo. *de trinitate*.
 Augustinus de Ciuitate 2° fo. *de pudore*.
 Augustinus de Verbis domini 2° fo. *sermo eiusdem*.
 Augustinus in suo encherideon² 2° fo. *-tinus colendum*.
 Augustinus de quantitate 2° fo. *-lium voluntaria*.
 Augustinus de trinitate 2° fo. *-enscie absconditur*.
 Augustinus de trinitate 2° fo. *scriptura diuina*.
 Bernardus super cantica 2° fo. *differente*.
 Bernardus super missus est³ 2° fo. *congruum*.
 Diuerse epistole Ieronimi 2° fo. *vincit pudor*.
 Ieronimus contra Rufinum 2° fo. *impictatis*.
 Omelie Gregorii 2° fo. *Jacobus alter*.
 Gregorius in Registro⁴ 2° fo. *patimur*.
 Gregorius super cantica 2° fo. *vocat*.
 Prima pars Gregorii in moralibus 2° fo. *exquirentes*.
 2^a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *nescit qui*.
 3^a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *illius in desperatione*.
 Prima pars moralium cum tabula 2° fo. *in textu conuictione*.
 Parisiensis super Dominicales⁵ 2° fo. *aduentum*.
 Distinctiones Holcote 2° fo. *sapiens non*.
 Dicta Lincolniensis 2° fo. *liberius et melius*.
 Casterton super apocalypsim 2° fo. *vero quia accidit*.
 Epistole Ysidori 2° fo. *carnium*.
 Dicta salutis 2° fo. *in hoc tanquam*.
 Ysidorus de summo bono 2° fo. *inest ei*.
 Prima pars Waldensis⁶ 2° fo. *nostre patrone*.
 2^a pars eiusdem in textu *per aduentum*.
 Reuelationes Brygitte 2° fo. *() vere stupenda*.
 Innocentius de pontificis et sacerdotis officio 2° fo. *domine leuite*.
 Parisiensis de virtutibus 2° fo. *sobrietatis*.
 Stephanus Cantuariensis 2° fo. *Hebrei non*.
 Beda de gestis Anglorum 2° fo. *quibusdam*.
 Malmesbury de gestis Anglorum 2° fo. *solent*.
 Omelie Eusebii 2° fo. *et amicus carus*.

¹ Melliloquio. Cf. Oxf. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, iii, 232.

² I.e. Enchiridion.

³ Cf. M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 65.

⁴ All Souls Coll. MS. XVIII, given to the College by Dr. Thomas Gascoigne and much used by him for his *Liber Veritatum*.

⁵ *Sc. epistolas*. William of Auvergne.

⁶ Thomas Netter of Walden. This is the first part of his *Doctrinale*, the "second part" being the "De Sacramentis," mentioned below and in a later list (All Souls Coll. Archives, Vellum Inventory, fol. 23 v).

- Eusebius in ecclesiastica historia 2° fo. *in tabula in cruciatibus*.¹
 Monologium Anselmi 2° fo. *cum igitur*.
 Rabanus² de mystico signo rerum 2° *Arrium*.
 Flores historiarum cum speculo stultorum 2° fo. *quia Abraham*.
 Rosarium theologicum 2° fo. *-sionis culpe*.
 Petrus in aurora³ 2° fo. *nam quasi*.
 Caton glosatus 2° fo. *insuper vero*.
 Liber Florum 2° fo. *quid tres*.
 Liber de emendacione vite 2° fo. *cunctaque*.
 Januensis in opere quadragesimali 2° fo. *-silia populi*.
 Magister summarum 2° fo. *in tabula an posse*.
 Magister summarum 2° fo. *-ata*.
 Thomas in 2a parte summe 2° fo. *mathematice*.
 Thomas in 2a secunde 2° fo. *signorum*.
 Thomas de Christo 2° fo. *necessarii*.
 Thomas in prima parte summa 2° *misticus accepit*.
 Thomas in 2a parte summe 2° fo. *cui attribuuntur*.
 Bonauentura super primum et quartum 2° fo. *enim est*.
 Thomas de veritatibus theologie 2° fo. *Gregis*.
 Petrus de Candia super libro sententiarum 2° fo. *cambunt*.
 Bradwardinus de causa dei 2° fo. *bonum et malum*.
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *sit verum*.
 Januensis 2° fo. *nunquam*.
 Januensis 2° fo. *scribuntur*.
 Unum pontificale in duobus voluminibus 2° fo. prime partis,
ea recompensare, 2° fo. 2e partis, *ordo ad finem*.
 4 Burley super libros ethicorum 2° fo. *ideo sub*.
 Opus Alberti⁵ 2° fo. *carnem*.
 Scharpe super libros physicorum 2° fo. *sine illa*.
 Burley super libros physicorum 2° fo. *physicos*.
 Egidius de celo et mundo 2° fo. *direncio*.
 Textus philosophie 2° fo. *-sem et statu*.
 Textus logice 2° fo. *sunt*.
 Textus logice 2° fo. *et de particularibus*.
 Gregorius in Registro 2° fo. *omnium atque*.
 Augustinus 2° fo. *insultare*.
 Tabula moralis philosophie 2° fo. *quia erit*.
 Bromyard 2° fo. *debet esse*.
 Crisostomus super Matheum 2° fo. *eius audiretur*.

¹ All Souls Coll. MS. XLVI, given by Henry VI to the College. 'In tabula' = in the table of contents. Fo. 2 begins 'e cruciatibus.'

² Rabanus Maurus.

³ The Aurora of Petrus de Riga.

⁴ In another hand.

⁵ Probably his Super libros de anima: All Souls Coll. Archives, Vellum Inventory, fol. 27 v.

Hodilstone¹ super psalterium 2° fo. *ad literam*.
 Holcote super sapientiam in tabula constructam.

LIBRI IURIS CANONICI CATHENATI.

- [m. l d.] Liber decretorum 2° fo. *facultas*.
 Liber decretorum 2° fo. *pontificum*.
 Archidiaconus in Rosario 2° fo. *ex eodem*.
 Archidiaconus in Rosario 2° fo. *iustus*.
 Tabula super decreta 2° fo. *cautela*.
 Lectura Johannis de fantutiis,² 2° fo. 2 3 4.
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *cedat limitato*.
 Petrus de Salinis 2° fo. *-fendendo*.
 Petrus de Salinis 2° fo. *de crimine*.

[after a considerable space blank.]

- Decretalia 2° fo. *-natissimam*.
 Decretalia 2° fo. *Dampnamus*.
 Summa Goffridi³ 2° fo. *quod non*.
 Summa Roffridi 2° fo. *decreto*.
 Innocentius 2° fo. *-di C*.
 Innocentius 2° fo. *et infra*.
 Hostiensis in summa 2° fo. *qualiter*.
 Hostiensis in 2a parte 2° fo. *naturalis*.
 Hostiensis in lectura 2° fo. *fatuum est*.
 Hostiensis in 2a parte 2° fo. *visitat*.
 Hostiensis in lectura 2° fo. *alia alliganda*.
 Hostiensis in 2a parte 2° fo. *debet recipere*.
 Johannes in novella 2° fo. *ultra id*.
 Johannes in novella in 2a parte 2° fo. *si recipiunt*.
 Johannes in novella 2° fo. *quod est*.
 Johannes in collecta 2° fo. *prime partis vel vj*.
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *cum eo*.
 Johannes de Ly[niano]⁴ 2° fo. *attendi*.
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *tendit ad*.
 Karolus de Zambucariis 2° fo. *Johannes an-*.
 Antonius de Butrio super 2° libro⁵ 2° fo. *se reputant*.
 Zabrellus super iiij decretalium⁶ 2° fo. *dicto c*.

¹ Richard Ullerston, Canon of Salisbury, formerly Chancellor of Oxford. There is a copy of this in Lord Mostyn's Manuscripts, no. 70: *Hist. MSS. Comm., 4th Rept., Appendix, p. 349*.

² John of Fantuzzi, on the Clementines. For John, cf. Schulte, *Gesch. d. Quellen und Lit. der Canonischen Rechts*, ii, 265-6.

³ Godfrey de Fontibus.

⁴ Supplied from list in *All Souls Coll. Misc.* 209.

⁵ *Sc. Decretalium*.

⁶ 'Decret' in MS. This might be Zabarella's *Commentaria in quinque libros decretalium* (Schulte, ii, 284).

Johannes in novella super speculum 2° fo. *ut ibi scripsi.*
 Tabula super decreta 2° fo. *monstravi.*
 Distinctiones Johannis Calderini 2° fo. *defendere.*
 Speculum 2° fo. *et multi.*
 Speculum 2° fo. *docuerunt.*
 Hostiensis abreviatus 2° fo. *Religiosi.*
 Sextus cum Johanne Cardinali dyacono¹ 2° fo. *in confessione.*
 Sextus cum eisdem 2° fo. *huius.*
 Johannes in mercurialibus super quibusdam regulis iuris 2° fo. *habetur.*
 Petrus de Ancorano 2° fo. *querit circa.*
 Idem in alio volumine super Clementinis 2° fo. *dicit.*
 Petrus de Ancorano 2° fo. *-tario regis.*
 Clementine cum Johanne W. G. et pan² 2° fo. *ipse tamen.*
 Clementine cum eisdem doctoribus 2° fo. *suum motum.*
 Constitutiones Johannes xxij notate per Goffridum 2° fo. *a canonibus*
 Summa Raymundi de casibus 2° fo. *est annexum.*
 Willermus³ in sacramentis 2° fo. *-tario regis.*
 Petrus de Ancorano 2° fo. *de prelatione.*
 Johannes Andreae 2° fo. *incipit.*

LIBRI IURIS CIUILIS CATHENATI.

Paruum volumen 2° fo. *rerum cotidianarum.*
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *tum ab uncio.*
 Johannes Fabri 2° fo. *dicit Azo.*
 Johannes Fabri 2° fo. *Christi qui.*
 Johannes de Platea 2° fo. *hoc nouum.*
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *in glossa.*
 Jacobus de Bello Visu 2° fo. *sic loquitur.*
 Tabula iuris 2° fo. *baal.*

[m. 2 d.] Codex 2° fo. *composicionem.*
 Codex 2° fo. *mare prospeximus.*
 Odofredus 2° fo. *libri l.*
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *et retineo.*
 Cynus 2° fo. *de decurionibus.*
 Cynus 2° fo. *et ideo.*
 Prima pars Baldi 2° fo. *non eris.*
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *quia potest.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *nouum.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *licet admergi.*
 Odofredus 2° fo. *intelligenti.*
 Prima pars eiusdem 2° fo. *de usu ca-.*
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *in iure.*
 Jacobus de Botzing⁴ 2° fo. *consuetudino.*

¹ MS., "Car dy," underlined. Misc. 209, "Cardinali ar(chidiacono) et diacono."

² I.e. Panormitano.

³ Of Auvergne.

⁴ ? Bozen.

Petrus in repetitionibus 2° fo. *consuetudinario*.
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *-ro eius*.
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *ex die*.
 Reynerius 2° fo. *solutio*.
 Additiones Eyny 2° fo. *de heredibus justis*.
 Jacobus de Rauennjs' 2° fo. *hoc dicit*.
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *predii*.
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *opida*.
 Azo cum Roffredo 2° fo. *de hereticis*.
 Judiciale iuris 2° fo. *superiorem*.
 Bartholomeus super prima parte Digesti noui 2° fo. *ut restituas*.
 Jacobus de Ravanis super Codice 2° fo. *in Anglia*.
 Tractatus Baldi 2° fo. *non de deo*.
 Bartholomeus super Codice 2° fo. *nec dicitur*.
 Prima pars Bartholomei super prima parte Digesti inforciati cum
 diuersis tractatibus 2° fo. *sed quid*.
 Prima pars eiusdem super eodem 2° fo. *supra de iure de*.
 Bartholomeus super Decreto nouo 2° fo. *si placuerit*.
 Bartholomeus super Decreto inforciato 2° fo. *priuilegium*.
 Bartholomeus super Decreto Veteri 2° fo. *hic lex*.
 Consilia Frederici 2° fo. *de hiis*.
 Belyall' 2° fo. *quis ibit*.¹

LIBRI IURIS DISTRIBUENDI.²

Decreta 2° fo. *adiciunt*.
 Archidiaconus in Rosario 2° fo. *omnis*.
 Johannes de Deo 2° fo. *et dicitur quod*.
 Decretalia 2° fo. *habent substantiam*.
 Decretalia 2° fo. *sacro*.
 Decretalia 2° fo. *in unum*.
 Decretalia 2° fo. *et filius*.
 Decretale 2° fo. *illud potissimum*.
 Decretale 2° fo. *ecclesie*.
 Decretale 2° fo. *nolo inquiens*.
 Decretale 2° fo. *singulis*.
 Innocentius 2° fo. *sicut tres*.
 Innocentius 2° fo. *faciendum*.
 Innocentius 2° fo. *scriptum est*.
 Innocentius 2° fo. *-tero fierent*.
 Goffridus 2° fo. *de simon'*.
 Compostelanus cum repertorio W. Durant' 2° fo. *teneris*.
 Hostiensis in lectura 2° fo. *sumpsit*.

¹ Cf. F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, p. 207 (no. 973).

² The left-hand column contains the canon law circulating books down to "Repertorium 2° fo. per archidiaconum"; the remainder of the column and the centre the civil law.

Hostiensis in summa 2° fo. *huius glose*.
 Tabula super decretalibus 2° fo. *verbis continetur*.
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *malicia*.
 Chelyngton¹ super decretis 2° fo. *et sic*.
 Sextus 2° fo. *declaracione*.
 Sextus 2° fo. *-rentem*.
 Sextus cum doctoribus² 2° fo. *in quo istud*.
 Johannes Andreae super vj 2° fo. *vocatus*.
 Johannes super vi 2° fo. *xxix di-*.
 Quidem rubeus liber 2° fo. *primali*.
 Archidiaconus super vj 2° fo. *pape*.
 Clementine 2° fo. *Clemens episcopus*.
 Clementine 2° fo. *spiritum perforare*.
 Clementine 2° fo. *immaculata*.
 Chelyngden³ 2° fo. *et alia conclusio*.
 Summa Goffridi 2° fo. *quasi*.
 Summa Goffridi 2° fo. *prioris*.
 Goffridus cum casuario Bernardi 2° fo. *Rescriptum*.
 Repertorium Baldi super Innocentium 2° fo. *abbas*.
 Speculum 2° fo. *complicuit*.
 Speculum 2° fo. *Ordo*.
 Repertorium W. Durandi 2° fo. *senes*.
 Repertorium 2° fo. *per archidiaconum*.
³ Instituta 2° fo. *seruientes*.
 Instituta 2° fo. *in generis*.
 Instituta 2° fo. *scriptum*.
 Instituta 2° fo. *collectum*.
 Instituta 2° fo. *sed et quod principi*.
 Instituta 2° fo. *et firma*.
 Instituta 2° fo. *constituebat*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *et elementa*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *-sipientibus*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *scriptum ius*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *-libet preceptis*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *commissario*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *-sponsa prudentum*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *iuris precepta*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *situm est*.
⁴ Codex 2° fo. *-ris veteris*.
 Codex 2° fo. *iuris doctor*.
 Codex 2° fo. *sanctitatem*.
 Codex 2° fo. *-atores*.

¹ Dr. Thomas Chillendon, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.

² "Cum suis doctoribus," Misc. 209.

³ Here begin the circulating books on Civil Law. In Misc. 209 the list is headed (a separate column) "Libri iuris civilis distribuendi."

⁴ Here the centre column begins.

- Codex 2° fo. *optulerunt.*
 Codex 2° fo. *huic igitur.*
 Codex 2° fo. *-nem iuris.*
 Codex 2° fo. *atque patricius.*
 Codex 2° fo. *ex qua diuident.*
 Codex 2° fo. *composite.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *-dinem.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *doctrinam.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *de testis.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *alterum.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *-dulcerit.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *lumine.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *dicitur.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *facundissimos.*
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *promittentibus.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *-que marite.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *diuorcio facto.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *pedicinos.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *utique.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *Julianus.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *-ebantur.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *si fundus.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *inus diuertit.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *erit non.*
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *maritus.*
¹ Digestum nouum 2° fo. *-tur opus.*
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *postea.*
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *ceterum.*
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *-mum sit.*
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *nisi ad ipsum.*
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *-ter plures.*
 Digestum nouum 2° fo. *omnes ciues.*
 Repertorium 2° fo. *et ita.*
 2a pars eiusdem 2° fo. *que sic.*
 Summa abbatis super Digestum nouum 2° fo. *Digestum ad.*
 Johannes de Blanasco 2° fo. *primo.*
 Liber de ordine iudiciali 2° fo. *eaque.*
 Casuarium super codicem 2° fo. *-mbent.*
 Bartholomeus super Digestum nouum 2° fo. *ut restituas.*
 Bartholomeus Brixensis 2° fo. *de censibus.*

PHILOSOPHIA CATHENATA.²

- [m. 2 d.] Burley super libros ethicorum 2° fo. *ideo sub.*
 Liber ethicorum 2° fo. *igitur eruditus.*

¹ Misc. 209 does not contain these items that follow.

² In Misc. 209 this heading is given as "Philosophia moralis et naturalis cathenanda."

Burley 2° fo. *philosophus*.

Textus philosophie 2° fo. *neque iam*.

Expositio super libros de generatione 2° fo. *carnem et os*.

Scharpe super viij libro phisicorum cum aliis contentis 2° fo. *sum illis*.

LOGICA.¹

Unus textus logice 2° fo. in *particularibus*.

Alius textus logice 2° *sunt circa*.

ASTRONOMIA.

Johannes de Lyneriis 2° fo. *et tunc*.

Liber nouus iudicis 2° fo. *mutacionem*.

Liber heremetis de xij signis 2° fo. *-les ut*.

Tractatus spere 2° fo. *quatuor cicli*.

Commendacio antiquorum² 2° fo. *et scientes*.

Quadripartitus Tholomei 2° fo. *Et potest*.

Astronomia Halsam³ 2° fo. *et si*.

Summa iudicalis de occidentibus⁴ mundi 2° fo. *mergitur*.

Tholomeus in Almagesti 2° fo. *tanti genus*.

Liber astronomie 2° fo. *tabula*.

Liber astronomie 2° fo. *et diuinitas*.

Canones Azar 2° fo. *additus*.

Liber astronomie 2° fo. *habetur*.

Aleceus⁵ in perspectiua 2° fo. *-libet*.

Theorica planetarium 2° fo. *sequitur ad signorum*.

Geometria 2° fo. *littera eius*.

LIBRI MEDICINE CATHENATI.

Nicholaus in antidorio 2° fo. *q. C.*

Almazornis 2° fo. *Receptacula*.

Liber morborum 2° fo. *-ciam et*.

Auicenna 2° fo. *capitulum*.

Dieta uniuersalis 2° fo. *quosdam*.

Rosa medicine 2° fo. *isto sanguine*.

Tegni Galieni 2° fo. *recedit*.

Medicine Ysaak 2° fo. *nisi discrecio*.

Constantinus Viaticus 2° fo. in *textu igneis*.

Geometria Euclidis cum commento 2° fo. *latera*.

¹ Heading in Misc. 209 is "Logica Cathenata."

² Misc. 209 supplies "sapientum."

³ "Alsham," Misc. 209. Probably Ibn-al-Haitham or Alacen. See n. 6 *infra*.

⁴ "Accidentibus," Misc. 209.

⁵ Alacen or Ali ibn Hasan ibn al-Haitham, cf. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, p. 104.

DIUERSI LIBRI DIUERSARUM FACULTATUM.¹

- Magister summarum 2° fo. *ipsum reseratur.*
 Magister historiarum 2° fo. *quidem celum.*
 Lincolnienſis 2° fo. *lingua hominis.*
 Expositio Gilberti super epistolis Pauli 2° fo. *intelligentiam.*
 Reductorium morale 2° fo. *inde tacere.*
 Franciscus Petrarcha² 2° fo. *-que videatur.*
 Euangelium 2° fo. *hominibus.*
 Moralitates Job³ 2° fo. *que uti.*
 Vita Scti Johannis Heremite 2° fo. *annis.*
 Epistole Pauli glosate 2° fo. *stulti facti.*
 Boicius de trinitate 2° fo. *mirati sunt.*
 Augustinus de trinitate⁴ 2° fo. *curam.*
 Lectura super Ysayam 2° fo. *generale quod nunquam.*
 Horologium diuine sapientiae 2° fo. *-libus predictis.*
 Stimulus diuini amoris 2° fo. *et propria.*
 Psalterium glosatum 2° fo. *propheta de Christo.*
 Vita sancti Malachie 2° fo. *Malachiam.*
 Speculum humane salutis 2° fo. *-siba filius.*
 Tractatus de dictamine 2° fo. *regraciando.*
 Elucidarium 2° fo. *sicut nec inferis.*
 Fasciculus morum 2° fo. *epistola.*
 Liber de sacris⁵ ecclesie 2° fo. *pater omnia.*
 Quaternus cum diuersis sermonibus 2° fo. *neque tunc.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *in modum.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *de hiis qui.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *corrumpat.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *venas.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *pill'.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *callidum.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *hoc esse potest.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *et facta.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *attrahendo.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *est validior.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *submergit.*
 Medicina 2° fo. *dantur.*
 Ypocras 2° fo. *utitur.*
 Astronomia 2° fo. *sequitur.*
 Astronomia 2° fo. *-libus planetarum.*
 Astronomia 2° fo. *tenebrosos.*

¹ This combines the lists "libri diuersarum facultatum distribuendi" and "Libri theologie distribuendi" of Misc. 209.

² "Detrarcha," Misc. 209, erroneously.

³ "Super Job," Misc. 209.

⁴ Written over "ciuitate" erased. Misc. 209 has "ciuitate."

⁵ "Sacramentis," Misc. 209.

- Astronomia 2° fo. *terrea*.
 Methphysica 2° fo. *inter duo*.
 Questiones phylosophie 2° fo. *tradit scientiam*.
 Liber phylosophie 2° fo. *finitam*.
 Egidius de celo et mundo 2° fo. *seu dimencio*.
 Libellus de ortu scientiarum 2° fo. *istam rursus*.
 Questiones super libros metaphysice 2° fo. *item propositio diuiditur*.¹
 Liber philosophie 2° fo. *-trice est*.
 Tabula philosophie moralis 2° fo. *quomodo erit*.
² Logica Dulmelton' 2° fo. *quibus*.
 Predicamenta Alyngton' 2° fo. *idem nouum*.
 Ouidius in Metamorphoses 2° fo. *pena metus*.
 Lucanus de bellis puniciis 2° fo. *senciet*.
 Virgilius 2° fo. *assidue*.
 Ars metrica 2° fo. *de clauibus*.
 Geomanicia 2° fo. *globo constitutum*.
 Summa logice 2° fo. *proprium*.
 De substantia logice 2° fo. *circa differentiis*.
 Aristoteles de animabus 2° fo. *separatur*.
 Textus philosophie 2° fo. *infinitus*.
 Expositorium super eodem 2° fo. *perfectum*.
 Biblia 2° fo. *nec scire dignantur*.
 Biblia 2° fo. *edi pro aula*.
 Geometrie li^m 2° fo. *sectorem*.
 Astronomie li^m 2° fo. *capitur*.

Per Magistrum
 P. Pertrigge.

[After considerable gap.]

- [m. l d] Passonarum sanctorum 2° fo. *quam rationabile*.
 Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *viro fundum*.
 Digestum vetus 2° fo. *sene populus*.
 Allocen' artis perspetiue 2° fo. *libet*.
 Psalterium glosatum cum aliis contentis 2° fo. *ad literam*.
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *generaliter*.
 Augustinus in diuersis tractatibus 2° fo. *quum occidit*.
 Biblia usque Jeremiam 2° fo. *e' p' i' c'*.
 Bromyard 2° fo. *dicitur esse*.
 Porphirius 2° fo. *cum specie*.
 Liber artis perspetiue 2° fo. *cum ille*.
 Sextus 2° fo. *domini alletura*.
 Geomancia Gerardi 2° fo. *nexit qui inter*.
 Summa Azonis 2° fo. *incipit*.
 Sextus 2° fo. *sinitur viciose*.
 Psalterium Gallicum, etc., 2° fo. *tunc reges*.

¹ Blurred and uncertain in MS.

² Misc. 209 now inserts two "texts" of Logic, but not those mentioned in 210 above.

³ John Dumbleton, Fellow of Merton.

Summa uiris canonice 2° fo. *dominum nostrum.*
 Liber medicine 2° fo. *nisi discrecio.*
 Liber philosophie 2° fo. *vel. commento.*
 Casuarium super decreta 2° fo. *capituli sunt.*
 Liber geomancie 2° fo. *puella.*
 Rasid 2° fo. *petigine.*
 Liber iudicum 2° fo. *ad honorem.*
 Perspectiua Baconis 2° fo. *cum prima uel quarta.*
 Crysostomus 2° fo. *eius ostenderetur.*
 Goffredus 2° fo. *eius deuocione.*
 De lxx verbis apostolicis 2° fo. *dixi in alio.*
 Capud diaboli 2° fo. *annexa.*
 Geomancia 2° fo. *negocio.*
 Forma literarum papalium 2° fo. *indubitatum.*
 Geometria 2° fo. *fiunt lius.*
 Alkemia 2° fo. *hactenus.*
 Geometria 2° fo. *sectorem sicut.*
 Allocen¹ artis perspectiue 2° fo. *in loco.*
 Tractatus de conuersione sancti Pauli cum aliis contentis secundum
 Petrum Ulescoute 2° fo. *agala.*

LIBRI DIUERSARUM FACULTATUM.

Decretum 2° fo. *Iulie Cornelie.*
 Liber cum diuersis contentis 2° fo. *comprehendere.*
 Rydevaus 2° fo. *ascensus.*
 Johannes² in addicione 2° fo. *incipit.*
 Iuuonis 2° fo. *poterant.*
 Septuplum 2° fo. *fecit verbum.*
 Psalterium glosatum 2° fo. *ac noua.*
 Lactencius³ 2° fo. *celeste pabulum.*
 Antiquus liber 2° fo. *quia varia.*
 Decretalia 2° fo. *-naque natura.*
 Sextus 2° fo. *ante quorum.*
 Abbas 2° fo. *constitutio.*
 Hostiensis in prima parte lecture 2° fo. *septima.*
 Decretalia 2° fo. *-ue ascendet.*
 Doctor ignotus 2° fo. *-creta sunt.*
 Clementine 2° fo. *et essentialiter.*
 Glosa super Digestum vetus 2° fo. *sub condicione.*
 Barnardus 2° fo. *auctoritas.*
 Instituta 2° fo. *valere.*
 Sextus cum doc(toribus) 2° fo. *salubri.*
 Paruum volumen 2° fo. *-bantur.*
 Tabula super utroque iure 2° fo. *baal xxij.*
 Palladius 2° fo. *postea.*
 Quidam doctor super decretalia 2° fo. *inter cetera.*

¹ Alacen.

² ? Andreae.

³ For Lactantius.

Innocentius 2° fo. *vel ex.*

Archidiaconus super VI 2° fo. *in suis principiis.*

Jacobus de Rauenna 2° fo. *in Anglia.*

Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *quasi dotis.*

Paruum volumen 2° fo. *ex uaque.*

Digestum nouum 2° fo. *opus.*

Codex 2° fo. *dicens.*

Decretalia 2° fo. *consenciatur.*

Conclusio Bal'¹ super innocencium 2° fo. *nota de deo.*

Augustinus de verbis domini 2° fo. *sermo eiusdem.*

Codex 2° fo. *nobis optulerunt.*

Paruum volumen 2° fo. *quasi quo iure.*

Innocentius 2° fo. *-cite beneficiorum.*

Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *Res sit.*

Digestum inforciatum 2° fo. *Statum.*

Digestum nouum 2° fo. *tutoris.*

Codex 2° fo. *Re pe-*

Paruum volumen 2° fo. *-bulis.*

Codex 2° fo. *Ratum.*

Edmundus Lacy 2° fo. *Hebreis.*

Hugo de sancto Victore 2° fo. *et in.*

Tabula aurea 2° fo. *De hoc ultimo.*

Casuarium super decretalia 2° fo. *epistolam.*

Antonius de Vii super iii^{io} decret [alium] 2° fo. *et in causa cui.*

Repertorium iuris 2° fo. *iuxta illud.*

Magister summarum 2° fo. *gignit.*

Mesue 2° fo. *omnium memoria.*

[On cover.]

Item Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum 2° fo. *-neque.*

Item Januensis 2° fo. *quosdam.* In manibus M. Dryell'.²

¹ Baldus, *cf.* p. 8.

² Dryell became a Fellow of the College in 1440,

A FRAGMENT OF A WITHAM CHARTERHOUSE CHRONICLE AND ADAM OF DRYBURGH, PREMONSTRATENSIAN, AND CARTHUSIAN OF WITHAM.

By E. MARGARET THOMPSON.

I.

ADAM the Scot (sometimes called the Englishman, or the Premonstratensian), a twelfth-century author of mystical treatises and of many sermons, had some celebrity in his own day; but except for a few scattered details from his writings, his personal history has been hitherto obscure. For the alleged life of him by Godefrid Ghiselbert prefixed to the edition of Adam's *Opera*¹ published at Antwerp in 1659, consists really of a series of conjectures. That he was identical with Adam of Dryburgh, the monk of Witham Charterhouse mentioned by St. Hugh's biographer,² I long ago assumed.³ This can now be proved from a contemporary Carthusian source.

At the end of a fourteenth-century manuscript volume of sermons of "Master Adam the Carthusian," which once belonged to the monks of the London Charterhouse, and now is owned by the Master of the modern Charterhouse, London, is an extract headed thus: *De Vita et Conversatione Magistri Ade Cartusiensis secundum quod habetur in cronica domus de Witham*. The original Witham chronicle is not known to exist. This portion extracted was written by one of the Witham monks who knew Adam intimately, for he lived ten years in the same cell with him. This may have been because he had the duty of attending him in his old age, or because

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 198, col. 19 seq.

² *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (R.S.), p. 201.

³ On the strength of an extract, or note, on Adam the Witham monk in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix., see my *History of the Somerset Carthusians* (1895), pp. 71-73.

at that time, the monastic buildings being perhaps not yet completed, two monks might live in one cell as in early years at the Grande Chartreuse. The information given by him he professes to have had from Adam's own lips, or to have gleaned from Adam's writings. The biographer of St. Hugh says that Master Adam of Dryburgh was a man of very high, and almost incomparable, erudition in divine matters. The Carthusian chronicler says that his renown was such that he was sought after by great ecclesiastics and others even in his seclusion at Witham. It is unlikely that there were two contemporary remarkably erudite Premonstratensian canons bearing the same name and both from Scotch houses of their Order.

Master Adam, the illustrious offspring of ordinary parents (*parentum mediocrum*)¹ according to his fellow-Carthusian, was born on the Border between England and Scotland. As a boy he easily surpassed those of his own age in his lessons. His parents doubtless meant their promising son to devote himself to the study of letters as a means of temporal advancement; but when Adam, after his boyish years, came to perceive a snare of riches rather than a reward of wisdom in his studies, "he withdrew the foot which he had set in the world's entrance," and quitting his home, "sought a habit of holy conversation." There happened to be "in the same province" a monastery of Premonstratensian canons at Dryburgh. Thither the "pious youth" betook himself. If Dryburgh was in the same province, Adam's paternal home was in Berwickshire; his father may have been a Scot of the Border, or an Englishman, or an Anglo-Norman, like Hugh de Moreville, the founder of Dryburgh Abbey. Under the discipline of the canons Adam became an exemplary religious, and was ordained priest when he reached his twenty-fifth year. He proved an excellent preacher, in an Order where preaching had a large part in its system. He was of middle height, handsome, quick-witted, pleasant and merry in talk, charming in manners, and gifted with penetration and a good memory.

When the Abbot of Dryburgh fell incurably ill, Adam was unanimously elected to his office. Out of love to the late abbot,

¹ A reviewer of my book, *The Carthusian Order in England*, has suggested that this means "middle-class parents"; but the intention of the chronicler is, I think, to contrast Adam's brilliance with the ordinary capacity of his parents.

however, he declined to receive during his life the customary episcopal blessing, and only took on himself the administration of the monastery. As the acting head of his house, it is strange that he was not present at a general chapter of his Order held in France ;¹ however the other abbots returning thence into England brought him a summons to Prémontré. There he was received with honour and housed for a time. He happened to be interested in the Carthusian Order, because a Premonstratensian abbot named Roger, "a very familiar friend of his," had become monk at the Chartreuse of Val Dieu. Therefore while accompanying the Abbot of Prémontré on a preaching tour through France, he took an opportunity of visiting the Chartreuse of Val St. Pierre. He went back to Prémontré determined to become a Carthusian, but for fear of his Order's opposition hid his purpose until his return to England. Then he applied to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, to help him to get received into Witham Charterhouse. Though furnished with letters by him to the community, Adam on arrival allowed them to receive him like a guest, hiding his intention. After winning their admiration by a sermon, he showed St. Hugh's letters to them, and the monks rejoicing to have such a colleague willingly granted his desire. But after four or five months in his cell a messenger arrived from the Abbot of Prémontré and the general chapter there, threatening excommunication unless he returned to them within a year. Bishop Hugh coming to Witham on one of his annual visits found him uneasy and sorrowful. He relieved his anxiety, and that very year he communicated with the Premonstratensian general chapter through the Abbot of Newhouse, the head house of that Order in England, and situated in his own diocese, and so influenced them that the Abbot of Prémontré despatched a letter to the Prior of Witham, saying that though they had tried to recall their sometime canon, now Brother Adam of the Carthusian Order, because they believed his return would have been to their honour, at the request of the Bishop of Lincoln and the Abbot of Newhouse, they released him from obedience to the Premonstratensian Order.

¹ This chapter and the one mentioned below, as general chapters, were of course held at Prémontré. In writing from brief notes made long before from this manuscript, I stated erroneously that they were held in England and at Newhouse in my book *The Carthusian Order in England*, p. 73

II.

At this point in the life of Adam of Dryburgh, it will be convenient to consider the probable dates, and to compare some of the details of the foregoing narrative with the few biographical hints contained in the writings of Adam the Premonstratensian.

The letter sent, as above related, to Witham is addressed to "A. Prior of Witham." A later passage in the Charterhouse manuscript, informs us that the prior who received Adam was Albert, the immediate successor in that office to St. Hugh on his becoming Bishop of Lincoln in 1186; also that Adam died at Witham after about twenty-four years of Carthusian life there, during the interdict laid on England by Innocent III. on account of the obstinacy of King John for seven years. Supposing this to mean the year 1212 or 1213 before John's absolution by the Pope, the date when Adam entered his Carthusian cell was 1188 or 1189. The biographer of St. Hugh, like the Witham chronicler, says that he had previously been ruling an abbey of the Premonstratensian Order. When Hugh de Moreville founded the Premonstratensian house at Dryburgh, canons were brought from the Abbey of Alnwick in Northumberland in 1152. Their first head was Roger, and he must have been the abbot under whom young Adam was professed, and may have been that Abbot Roger, Adam's friend, who entered a French Chartreuse. In 1177 he resigned and Girard the prior succeeded to the abbacy of Dryburgh, and certainly ruled in name at any rate until 1184, the date of a bull granted to him by Lucius III. Girard doubtless was that abbot whose infirmity necessitated the election of a more capable actual head in the person of Adam; and if Girard died soon after the date of this papal bull, Adam may have had for two or three years the title, as well as the burden, of that office. Richard, Abbot of Dryburgh, in 1190 witnessed a document relating to Kelso Abbey;¹ before that date, the wings of a dove had been given to Adam, and he had flown away to the solitude of Witham Charterhouse.²

The few hints dropped about himself by Adam the Premonstratensian accord fairly well with the Witham chronicler's reminiscences

¹ *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh* [Bannatyne Club, 1847], Introduction quoting *Chron. Mailros*, p. 88: and p. 194 of text. Mr. Spottiswoode, the editor, calls Richard *probably* the third abbot of Dryburgh.

² *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 201.

of Adam of Dryburgh, as does also the scanty matter which the canon's editor Ghiselbert took from the account of him belonging to the canons of St. Michael at Antwerp. This states that Adam the Premonstratensian was born in Anglo-Scotia, of noble parents; that he joined a community of White Canons of St. Norbert in a monastery in Scotland, where he received instruction from the first fathers of the Premonstratensian Order, of whom he was almost the contemporary.¹ Anglo-Scotia means clearly that part of Scotland once belonging to Northumbria, including Berwickshire. The Carthusian's expression "ordinary parents" refers probably to the mental attainments of the father and mother of Adam of Dryburgh, rather than to their rank, and though he says nothing as to noble birth, his description of his hero's youth suggests easy circumstances. As another writer² has observed "the minute knowledge of Michael Canmore's children" evinced by the author of the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* points to Scotch interests. We will add that his mention of Henry, King David's son, as that "gentle and loving man, of pleasant countenance and of clean heart" (*lactei cordis*) is almost affectionate; if his father's rank was noble, Adam may have been brought into connection with the court, and Adam of Dryburgh, who died an old man during the interdict of King John, might certainly have known Earl Henry, whose death occurred in 1153.

Adam the Premonstratensian has been usually claimed for Whithern, but as has been said elsewhere³ from many points of view Dryburgh would suit equally well. In fact it would suit better. Adam explains in the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* his reason for placing pictures of English and Scottish Kings in the "tabernacle" as being because he was "in the land of the English and in the kingdom of the Scots." These words can hardly apply to Candida Casa, otherwise Whithern, in Galloway, which was formerly part of Strathclyde, though Mauritius à Prato, one of the authorities of Adam's editor, the canon Ghiselbert, claimed this distinguished Scot for the cathedral chapter there.⁴ The words do, on the other hand, very well describe the locality of Dryburgh Abbey, which stood within

¹ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, tom. 198, col. 27.

² In *D.N.B.*, article "Adam Scotus or Anglicus."

³ *D.N.B.*, article "Adam Scotus."

⁴ *Patr. Latina*, tom. 198, col. 27.

the confines of the old Northumbrian kingdom, where there must have been many English landholders, or Anglo-Norman subjects of the King of England. Moreover, Dryburgh exactly accords with the statement of the Antwerp MS. mentioned by Ghiselbert, that Adam was instructed in a Scotch monastery by the first fathers of the Premonstratensian Order. Hugh de Moreville, a Northamptonshire baron, a close friend of King David, and at one time Constable of Scotland, founded the Abbey in his lordship of Lauderdale in the middle of the twelfth century, only ten years after the establishment of the first Premonstratensian house in these islands at Newhouse in Lincolnshire. Though the cemetery at Dryburgh was consecrated in 1150, the canons brought from Alnwick did not come into residence until 1152. Later Hugh de Moreville himself took the habit and died at Dryburgh in 1162.¹ Roger, the first abbot, and even his successor, Girard, might have been among St. Norbert's later immediate disciples, and so could be numbered among those first fathers of the Order from whom Adam received instruction in the rule of Prémontré.

The only difficulty which the Witham narrative presents is that mention is made of only one visit of Adam of Dryburgh to Prémontré, and that not long before his quitting St. Norbert's Order for that of St. Bruno. Whereas we know from the author of the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* himself that before writing that treatise he had already visited the mother abbey in France; and whereas, if owing to the incapacity of the abbot, he administered the Abbacy of Dryburgh, it is to be supposed that he must have attended general chapters there, as representative of the older man. We suggest, as a solution, that the Carthusian chronicler, writing his reminiscences after Adam's death, confused two visits at least, and described them as one; in any case the last, which was the turning-point in the canon's career, was naturally the only one which would interest the Witham monk.

The Carthusian narrative, on the other hand, does supply a reason, why Adam the canon, in spite of the authoritative tone of his sermons and his treatises, in addressing the persons to whom he dedicates his works, uses a style so extremely humble. They are always his "fathers," he is their "son," the subject of their "paternity," and not their equal. He does not style himself Abbot, because, even

¹ Sir A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters* (1905), pp. 272, 419.

if elected and acting head of his house, he was not consecrated and had not the title. The Carthusian's account of the honour with which Adam of Dryburgh was regarded by his fellow-canons quite agrees with what the author of the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* writes to his brethren at Prémontré in the Proem to that treatise. He tells them that whenever he remembers it, he is astonished at the manner in which their "exaltedness" received his "littleness" and entertained him during his sojourn. Their affection filled him with joy and wonder. In alluding to this stay at Prémontré, he refers to no preaching progress with the abbot through France, nor to any visit of his own to any Chartreuse; nor does he hint at any restlessness or desire to quit the Order for another. He seems to have made merely a quiet sojourn at Prémontré, and incidentally he gives some indications of the date of it, and of that of the above-mentioned treatise. Now that he is in the kingdom of the Scots, he says to his friends at Prémontré, he sends to them, as desired, "the book on the Tabernacle of Moses together with the picture which we composed two years ago at request of some of our brethren, and especially of the illustrious John, an abbot in our land."¹ This, as the introductory letters to the treatise show, was John, Abbot of Kelso, who ruled there from 1160 until his death in 1180. In the treatise itself, in giving the age of the Church as from the first to the second advent of Christ, he says of this "eleven hundred and eighty years are now past" (Pt. II. cap. 6). His list of popes (cap. 12) ends with Alexander III. who died in 1181. He speaks (cap. 13) of Philip, son of Louis, as the reigning king of the French, and Philip Augustus began to reign in 1180; but his words "Henry the third, who was the son of Henry II." suggest that that prince was dead, and he died in 1183. Adam was, then, probably writing, or perhaps finishing, the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* in 1183. By 1185, therefore, he had returned from this visit to Prémontré, and was despatching thither the desired copy of his treatise and a copy of the fourteen sermons on the *Order, Habit and Profession of Premonstratensian Canons*. This date is slightly too early to fit the story of the visit given by the Carthusian monk, for Hugh did not become Bishop of Lincoln until 1186. It is, however, quite probable that there were at least two

¹ *De Trip. Tabernaculo, Proem I. iii.*

visits of Adam to Prémontré; he alludes to the wish of the canons there for his return (*Proem I. i*) and if later he had the charge of Dryburgh, the chief abbot of the Order might well have reasons for demanding his presence besides admiration for his attainments.

Whether Adam of Dryburgh was really ever consecrated abbot of that house must remain an open question. The Abbot of Prémontré, in giving him up to the Carthusian Prior merely calls him "brother Adam, your monk sometime our canon." But St. Hugh's biographer states distinctly that Master Adam of Dryburgh had quitted an abbey of the Premonstratensian Order, "which he was ruling" before joining the Carthusians. He thus supports the evidence in a passage in the Charterhouse manuscript concerning Prior Albert, St. Hugh's successor, presumably also taken from the Witham chronicle. This gives the names of four men who became monks there under the priorate of Albert; of these "the first was Master Adam, an abbot of the Premonstratensian Order of the house of the same Order Dryburgh by name."

III.

Though he left the canons somewhat furtively, it seems, Adam had not disguised his opinion that the Norbertine was not the highest form of the religious life. Long before (in the *De Tript. Tabernaculo*, Pt. II., cap. xix.) while claiming for the canons regular, Premonstratensian and others, and monks, Carthusian, Cistercian and others, the privilege of entering the Lord's House to make the offering of the sweet-smelling savour, he declared the place of the anchorites was the Holy of Holies itself. "The secret and solitary conversation of anchorites," he said, "may be called the bride-chamber." As shown above, it must have been about 1189 that he arrived at Witham Priory, a postulant for the solitary life as led by the sons of St. Bruno. So thoroughly did he take to it, that during the four, or five, and twenty years of his Carthusian existence, never, save once, did he go forth from the outer gate of the monastery, and the only path which he trod lay between his cell and the church, according to the Witham chronicler. But his talents were not hidden in his cell. St. Hugh's biographer relates how the Bishop of Lincoln, on his visits to his former community, and Master Adam were given to mutual exhortation (*Magna Vita*, pp. 201-203). The chronicler

speaks of a frequent resort to him of church dignitaries seeking his prayers, or desiring to catch the drops of heavenly dew from his lips. At one time Hubert Walter being at Glastonbury Abbey, Robert, Adam's then prior, got him to come to Witham, ostensibly for the purpose of bestowing a blessing on his enclosed monks, but really with the object of securing an opportunity for himself and the procurator, Randolph, to discuss with the Archbishop a quarrel with some secular persons about a pasture, and to remove from his mind any bad impressions caused by misrepresentations of their opponents. During his visit to Witham, Hubert's own clerks, in talking about Master Adam, roused the Archbishop's curiosity, and he stayed until the next day so that he might see him after mass. Master Adam, being pointed out in the cloister, by the prior, had to preach to the primate and his attendants. After listening to a wonderful sermon, Hubert retired with the learned man to his cell to make his confession, and then to Adam's surprise he undressed to receive the discipline of rods at his hands. He asked him, moreover, to write for him something on the Lord's Prayer.

Master Adam died, after two years of suffering, at some date before the removal of the interdict laid on the kingdom by Innocent III. Perhaps it was on the Palm Sunday of 1213 that he called to him Prior Robert of Caveford and the rest of the monks to bid them farewell. Two days later he fell asleep, laid on blessed ashes in Carthusian fashion. It was the fellow-inmate for ten years of Adam's cell, the chronicler himself, who washed his body and sewed it into grave clothes, carried it on a bier to the church and to the grave, and finally laid it in the grave. In case any one would wish to know what he was like, he added, that he was of middle height, and sufficiently stout for his stature, of cheerful countenance, bald-headed, yet with some white hair to increase the reverence inspired by his age and gracious manners.

IV.

After these biographical details the Witham monk gives further proof that the Scotch Premonstratensian and Adam of Dryburgh were one and the same man. He states that the works written by Master Adam before coming to Witham were comprised in two large codices, called, because their contents were in the form of

homilies, the sermons of Master Adam. Doubtless, they were familiar to him as being in the library of Witham Priory ; unfortunately he does not describe the contents. Now the London Charterhouse was initiated with monks drawn from the three earlier Carthusian foundations of Witham and Hinton in Somersetshire, and Beauvale in Nottinghamshire ; it had then naturally a close link with Witham, the first house of the Order in England, and would preserve its traditions. One cannot help surmising that the above-mentioned manuscript, belonging to the modern London Charterhouse, was copied for the London Carthusians at Witham. It contains an abridgement of some sermons of Master Adam and the biographical extract from which we have been quoting. Of these sermons ascribed by this manuscript to Adam Carthusianus, six occur elsewhere under the name of Adam Premonstratensis (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 198, cc. 219, 251, 269, 393, 401). This shows that among the Carthusians their monk Adam of Dryburgh was generally recognised as Adam, the former well-known Premonstratensian canon. One of the sermons, on St. Hugh of Lincoln, cannot be by Adam of Dryburgh, since it has a reference to a work of Vincent of Beauvais, then scarcely born. One copied by another hand at the end of the volume, for Easter, is not claimed for Adam, and a few others are ascribed to other persons. The manuscript contains also, in shortened form, the Life of St. Hugh written for the monks of St. Hugh by that other Brother Adam.¹

After his mention of the two large codices of sermons, the Witham chronicler set down the titles, so far as he could remember, of the treatises written by Master Adam during the years of his Carthusian existence.² The only treatise in his list known to be extant is the *De Quadripartito Exercitium Cellæ*. Formerly ascribed to Guigo II., Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, it may now fairly certainly be put down to the authorship of Adam of Dryburgh, internal evidence also agreeing with the Witham monk's statement. I have discussed this point and described the little work recently elsewhere (*The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 336, 354-67). The *Speculum Disciplinæ* is not as I have suggested (*ibid.*, p. 337) the *Speculum de viciis et virtutibus* ascribed in the Catalogue of

¹ Introduction to the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (R.S.), p. xxxiv seq.

² See fo. 220 of the Charterhouse MS.

Syon monastery to Adam Carthusianus, for this contains a quotation from Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*.¹

Supposing the Witham monk's memory to be at fault as to the time of its composition, is the *Dialogus Magistri Ade* in his list, perhaps, the *Soliloquium de Instructione Anime*, a treatise of Adam the Premonstratensian on the religious life of canons regular composed in the form of a dialogue between Reason and the Soul? It is addressed to Walter Prior of St. Andrews and the canons under him there. We do not know what was his connection with them, but to ask them to offer "holocaustum pro filio uteri vestri" implies a spiritual parentage, more properly, one would think, to be ascribed to the religious of Dryburgh. It must have been written between 1162 and 1186, or between 1188 and 1195, the dates of the two priorates of Walter. The author speaks of himself as having much business, which would be the case were he ruling Dryburgh at the time. This *Soliloquium* has been ascribed to Adam of St. Victor, but internal evidence is in favour of Adam the Scot. Not only has it the peculiarities of his style, but there are passages of it which occur almost word for word in the longer discourses of the *De Ordine et Habitu canonic. Præmon.*; e.g., the answer of Reason about unreasonable commands of superiors (*Solil.*, lib. I., cap. iv.) and the answer to the same objection in *De Ord. et Habit.*, serm. xiii. (P.L. 198, c. 584). Now in the sermons of the last-named work which deal with the vow at profession, Master Adam is apt to run into dialogues, the interlocutors therein being himself and one of his supposed hearers, instead of the Reason and Soul, and these dialogues are either elaborations of the parts of the *Soliloquium* dealing with the same points, or else the source from which those parts were simply abridgements made by him for his friends at St. Andrews. It may be noted that as to the question of stability in the *De Ord. et Habit.* he would permit departure from the Order to another stricter one, the consent of the superior and convent being first peaceably obtained, which suggests that when he wrote it he was thinking of the Carthusians; he does not give that as a legitimate cause of quitting the Order in the *Soliloquium*, which may indicate its earlier date.

¹ H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle* (1927), pp. 263, 405.

The edition of the works of Adam the Premonstratensian published in 1659 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, tom. 198) contains :—

1. A collection of Sermons for the year, which according to his own preface numbered a hundred, instead of only forty-seven as there printed.¹

2. *Liber de Ordine Habitu et Professione canonicorum Ordinis Premonstratensis*, that is, fourteen homilies or sermons addressed to the abbots of his Order on the so-called rule of St. Augustine. (Migne, *ibid.*, cc. 439-610.)

3. The lengthy discourse in three parts on the Tabernacle of Moses, explaining it in its literal, allegorical, and moral or spiritual significance, called *De Tripartito Tabernaculo*.

4. A treatise, like the last addressed to the canons of Premontr , with the somewhat misleading title *De Triplici Genere Contemplationis*, being three meditations, on the incomprehensibility of God, on the wrath of God against the reprobate, and on the benignity of God towards the elect.

5. The *Soliloquium* or *Dialogus de Instructione Animæ* above-mentioned.

A comparison of the style of these sermons and treatises, with that of the Witham treatise, *the Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell*, affords further proof of the identity of authorship. There are in all the same well-balanced sentences, ending very often in rhyming verb, or noun, forms ; the same addiction to numeral adjectives, like tripartite, quadripartite, or threefold (triplex) qualifying single nouns, instead of simple numerals with nouns in the plural ; the same tendency to run into ejaculation ; and the same peculiar trick of transposing adjective and noun, or verb and adverb or adverbial phrase, as “ne superfluitatem enormem et enormitatem superfluum” (*Sermones*, Migne, *P.L.*, 198, c. 387), “sobria honestas et sobrietas honesta in refectorio, matura quies et quieta maturitas in dormitorio” (*De Trip. Tab.*, *proem*, *ibid.*, c. 613), “expavescere cum stupore et obstupescere cum pavore” (*ibid.*, c. 630), “in serena et amoena

¹ Others attributed to him are contained in the British Museum Add. MSS. 23995 and 34749, and in a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin (*Hist. MSS. Commission Rep. IV.*, 592) ; Mr. W. de Gray Birch, some years ago, printed others from a manuscript in the Public Library of Rouen : (see also Dom A. Wilmart, *Magister Adam Cartusiensis in M langes Mandonnet*, tome II., p. 152, n. 4).

tranquillitate, im tranquilla et amoena serenitate, et in serena et tranquilla amoenitate" (*De Quad. Ex. Cellæ*, *P.L.*, 153, c. 820); and the same use as figures, though with different applications, of Paradise, or Eden, and its four rivers (Gen. ii.) in a sermon on the Nativity (*P.L.*, 198, cc. 248-250), in the *De Trip. Tabernaculo*, *Proem* (*ibid.*, cc. 616-622), and in the *De Quad. Exercitio Cellæ* (*P.L.*, 153, cc. 823 seq.).

And besides similarity of style, there are passages here and there in the *De Quad. Exercitio Cellæ* which in thought and language have close parallels in passages of the Premonstratensian treatises; e.g., the explanation of Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life in *De Quad. Ex. Cellæ* (*P.L.*, 153, c. 807) and in *De Trip. Tab.* (*P.L.*, 198, c. 702), and the meditation on God in *De Quad. Ex. Cella*, cap. xxix, and that in the *De Trip. Genere Contemplationis*, pars I., § 1.

Both the Witham chronicler and St. Hugh's biographer represent Adam of Dryburgh as learned. Certainly his fairly numerous, direct and indirect quotations show him to have been well read. In the writings of his earlier years, besides St. Augustine, the "father" of Norbertine and other regular canons, and St. Benedict, his authorities are SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, and Anselm, Ovid, Arator, Juvenal, Horace, Boethius, the venerable Bede, Josephus, "certain modern learned men" (*doctores moderni*) and others not named on Jewish antiquities, and Hugh of St. Victor, and even Hippocrates *peritissimus ille medicorum*; to these may be added from the *Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell*, the *Angelic Hierarchy* of Dionysius. St. Augustine was the natural source of the theology of a regular canon, and there are passages in the writing of Master Adam such as those on the nature of God above-mentioned, which seem to be imitative of portions of the Confessions. St. Bernard he does not quote, though there may be an echo of his devotion to the Holy Name, in Adam's sermon on the Circumcision (*P.L.*, 198, cc. 389-390). Hugh of St. Victor, to whom he refers in one place¹ and from whose work *De Sacramentis* he makes a long quotation in another place,² was undoubtedly a source of inspiration. In fact, the idea of the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* might have been suggested by

¹ *De Trip. Tab.*, pars. II. cap. viii.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xiii. (*P.L.*, 198, cc. 726-727).

Hugh's treatises on the Ark, *De Arca Noe morali*, and *De Arca Noe mystica*, especially by the second, perhaps, where the ark symbolises the Church. It may be noted that as Hugh adorns his ark-church with "icons" of the patriarchs from Adam to Christ and of the popes from St. Peter to Honorius II., so the Premonstratensian puts in his tabernacle-church "icons" of popes and kings. His fellow-Scot, Richard of St. Victor, Master Adam does not mention, though probably in his method of exegesis he took hints from both the Victorines.

Adam of Dryburgh was a preacher and director of souls rather than a mystic, and in what he writes of prayer and meditation there is nothing very characteristic. His mysticism, such as it is, is peculiar to himself in one or two points. Contemplation with him, both in his Premonstratensian writings and in his one surviving Carthusian treatise, is really merely devout meditation on the highest themes, though perhaps that "perfect kind of meditation" with "internal discourses and reasoning" which has been erroneously called contemplation.¹ In his idea of contemplation there is no quickening of the understanding into clear vision, no taste of wonderful sweetness or sense of joy, mentioned by Hugh of St. Victor and other mystical writers. He seems indeed to have shrunk from the possibility of vision, apparently dreading some trick of the imagination, for when contemplating he would have the ears of the heart pricked up to receive the ineffable words which might be spoken, but "the fanciful eyes of the foolish mind" closed lest in the incomprehensible light one should feign something corporeal. He adduced the example of Elijah, who hid his face in his mantle upon hearing the gentle hissing.² That joyous state of exultation, the ecstasy or rapture, usually connected with contemplation, Master Adam in the *De Quadripartito Exercitio Cellae* connects with what he calls "pure prayer"³ (that is, the prayer of adoration), but he admits there to his new brethren, the Carthusians, that he had never experienced it.

¹ Father Augustine Baker, *Holy Wisdom* (ed. 1876), p. 503.

² Ill. Reg. xix. 3 (Vulgate).

³ Perhaps in this he was following the teaching of William of St. Thierry. Cf. Dom J. McCann's *Introduction to the Golden Epistle of Abbott William of St. Thierry to the Carthusians of Mont Dieu*, trans. by W. Shewring (1930), p. xlviii.

Adam's works testify to much industry and some ingenuity in interpretation and in his use of figures, and to his real and devout knowledge of the Scripture, but they afford wearisome reading for to-day. The eloquence of his sermons, so much admired by his contemporaries, is somewhat factitious, but in them and in the homilies on the Premonstratensian Habit and Order, he shows himself zealous as a religious, and a man of practical piety by no means of the long-faced sort, for cheerfulness among the virtues he compared to relish to one's food.¹ He has two depreciatory references to the religious houses of his day. In an Advent sermon to his fellow-canons (*P.L.*, 198, c. 108) he says that the bridesmaids of the Bride are the prelates of Holy Church and "the guardians of this holy convent," and launches forth into a lamentation over the wordliness of those of the time; they care only for their own glory, in dress they might be taken for knights (*militēs*) or worse still for stage-players; they violently exact tithes and oblations, and what they have greedily exacted spend unlawfully. In an Epiphany sermon there is a long tirade against contemporary monasteries "in many places" (*P.L.*, 198, cc. 403-404) where dwell, instead of healthful purity and internal grace, pride and envy, discord and strife, detraction and blasphemies, fathers and sons devouring each other, and so on. Was this why he fled to the silence and strict discipline of the Carthusians at Witham?²

His fellow-monk's little biography of him, I print here in full, with the kind permission of the Master of the Charterhouse, London.

DE VITA ET CONVERSATIONE MAGISTRI ADE CARTUSIENSIS
SECUNDUM QUOD HABETUR IN CRONICA DOMUS DE
WITHAM.¹

Fuit itaque vir iste Magister Adam in confinio Anglie et Scotie oriundus, parentum mediocrum proles illustris, a quibus transcensis infancie rudimentis literarum studiis traditus fuit. Et quia puer erat ingeniosus et bone indolis, et sortitus fuerat animam bonam, in eisdem studiis citius profecit, et compares suos et coequaveos consimilibus exercitiis addictos facile antecessit. Crescens itaque etate crevit et scientia, et pueriles annos excedens, et in adolescentie

¹ *P.L.*, 198, c. 262.

² As to the two treatises extant in French and English versions, "the xii profits of tribulation" and "the ladder of iv rungs . . . to heaven" attributed to Adam Carthusianus, probably quite wrongly, see my *Carthusian Order in England* (1930), p. 338.

³ This is ff 216v-221 of the Charterhouse MS.

annis jam floridus, studiis literarum quibus addictus fuerat ferventer adhesit. Fuit nempe in sententiis subtilis, providus in responsis, in rei propositae diffinitione discretus. Verum cum in hiis atque hujuscemodi studiis multos ire per abrupta viciorum cerneret, et eadem a nonnullis magis propter honores seculi opumque vanitates quam propter ipsam sapientiam studiosius amplecti, eum quem in ingressu mundi posuerat retraxit pedem, ne si ampliora de scientia ejus attingerent, ipse quoque postea in immane precipitium totus iret. Despectus itaque literarum studiis, relicta domo rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sancte conversationis habitum quesivit. Erat autem in eodem tempore quod etiam in presenti clarius effulget in eadem provincia monasterium quoddam canonicorum ordinis Premonstratensis quod Driburga dicitur, fama quidem et religione notissimum. Huic monasterio pius adolescens et gloriosus Christi tirunculus Adam se contulit, mutatoque habitu gratanter ac devotissime sacro conventui associatus est.

Ingressus itaque scolam Christi summe obedientie bonum et perfecte humilitatis studium, ceterarum virtutum quibus ardentem inhiabat fundamentum sibi locavit. Nec in agendis quid vel quare preciperetur discernere voluit, sed ad hoc solum nitebatur, ut fideliter et humiliter perageret quod a majoribus preciperetur. Sciebat namque non ipsius esse discernere, sed tantum humiliter obedire. Neque enim ignorabat animalem hominem discretum, novitium prudentem, insipientem¹ sapientem in congregatione durare impossibile esse. Et ideo stultus videri voluit ut sapiens fieret. Et hec omnis ejus fuit discretio ut in hoc nullatenus esset discretio. Hec omnis ejus sapientia fuit, ut in hac parte nulla ei esset.² Pro hiis siquidem et hujuscemodi studiis diligebatur a fratribus et carissimus haberi ob omnibus merebatur. Cumque divinum officium debito fervore et diligenti studio didicisset et memorie tenacis armario congestisset, non sicut nostri temporis invenientibus claustralibus mos est, inertio otio et desidia, signis nugatoriis aut vanis colloquiis se resolvit, verum incredibili fervore et studio infatigato divine pagine lectioni et doctrine se contulit. In quibus avidissime laboranti ac desudanti, dierum aut noctium spatium vix sufficere potuit. Denique optavit et datus est illi sensus, et invocavit et venit super eum spiritus sapientie. Et preposuit illam temporalibus oblectamentis; divitias et desideria seculi nichil omne duxit in comparatione illius. Hanc amavit et (fo. 217) exquisivit a juventute sua et quesivit sponsam sibi assumere eam et amator factus est forme illius. Quam sine fictione didicit, et sine invidia aliis communicavit, et honestatem illius non abscondit. Nam quia venerabilem Bedam presbiterum et alios nonnullos viros illustres, qui in etate tenera vel adolescentia claustra religionis intraverant per studium jugis meditationis et solertis ingenii laborem in divinorum eloquiorum noticia optime noverat plurimum proficisse, licet in consimilibus studiis eis equipari non

¹Error for *incipientem*.

²This passage on Adam's novitiate is merely an application to his character of the closing sentences of Chapter V. of the Epistle to the Carthusians of Mont Dieu, now ascribed to William of St. Thierry. (See *The Golden Epistle of Abbot William of St. Thierry to the Carthusians of Mont Dieu*, ed. by Dom Justin McCann (1930), pp. 30-31. It is possible that the Witham chronicler had formerly been a Chartreux at Mont Dieu.

mereretur, eorum tamen exemplis et ad sublimiora proficere et eorum vestigiis consimili quidem devotione quamvis gressu dissimili nitebatur adherere. Unde quia ab ipso pueritie sue tempore cor gessit senile et etatem moribus transiens nulli voluptati animum dedit, circa vicesimum quintum etatis sue annum sacerdotium promeruit.

Factus igitur presbyter, idem mansit qui prius eadem humilitate eademque obedientie virtute peditus, isdem studiis quibus prius infatigabiliter adhesit. Et placebat vita ejus et conversatio tam Deo quam hominibus, crescebatque fama bonitatis sue per dies singulos et per ora provincialium crebrius volitabatur. Gratia namque multiplici preventus diversorum virtutum dote prefulgebat. Erat enim statura mediocris, decorus forma, ingenio perspicax, dulcis et jocundus eloquio et venustate morum pro etate amabilis. Tantoque mentis vigeat acumine, ut prudenter difficiles solveret questiones et verborum perplexitates et profundos orationum sinus congrua responsione discinderet, et rationabili et veridico sermone dilucidaret. Felici in tantum gaudebat memoria, ut quod in sententiis aut verbis semel didicerat, quotiens necesse esset, posset absque difficultate proferre. Quod multi literatores assequi non valentes tantam mentis alacritatem presertim in homine simplici et claustrali et disciplinis scolasticis minus exercitato miraculis ascribebant. Sic enim eum nutrix gratia ad plurimorum utilitatem et profectum prosequabatur, ut ei in collationibus aut cursu sermonis, ut dici solet, omnia ad manum necessaria promptissime ministraret. Quia etiam gloriosa pollebat facundia, cepit esse predicator egregius; unde nunc cum abbate suo nunc vero aliis personis concomitatus ecclesias et monasteria regionis illius longe lateque peragrando, verbum Dei predicabat, et catholici doctoris et fidelissimi officium decenter implebat. Pensabat tamen vir discretus mores hominum quos docebat aut admonebat, ne sanctum daret canibus, aut margaritas spargeret ante porcos. Et quia eum celestis docebat unctio, sive literatis sive illiteratis loqueretur, mirum in modum eruditus et eloquens apparebat, et predicatio tam pondere sententiarum quam puritate verborum placens erat et efficax.

Cumque non modico tempore talibus et hujuscemodo floreret studiis et sedulo lucrandis animabus invigilaret, ac per hoc gratum Deo munus exhiberet, abbas monasterii sui in egritudinem decidit incurabilem. Pro quo et ab ipso abbate et totius conventus unanimi assensu et consensu predictus Adam in abbatem ejusdem monasterii electus est. Quia vero electioni de se celebrata (fo. 217^v.) canonice omnino contradicere minime potuit, curam et administrationem monasterii tantummodo suscepit; ab episcopo vero benedictionem quam abbates suscipere consueverunt, abbate suo superstiti et connivente, nunquam suscipere consensit. Diligebat enim eum valde, et erat eis cor unum et anima una in Deo. Huius itaque gestis circa idem tempus fama ejus abbati Premonstrati innotuit. Unde per abbates ejusdem ordinis qui a capitulo generali in Angliam redierant missa legatione precepit in virtute sancti obedientie quatinus sine dilatione suam presentiam sibi exhiberet. Cujus preceptis illico paruit, et veniens Premonstratum, debito cum honore ab ipso abbate et conventu susceptus est. Cumque ubi moram faceret et sepius cum viris eruditissimis et doctissimis aut de scripturis dissereret aut de divinarum rerum misteriis collationem cum eis haberet, sive coram eis verbum Dei predicaret, mirum in modum doctus et eloquens ab omnibus censebatur, et omni acceptione dignis-

simus. Siquidem eo tempore tantus defectus tantaque penuria vini in illis locis erat, ut nullus in tanto et tam celebri monasterio uspiam tali poculo potaretur. Attamen Magistro Ade, sic enim ubicumque notus erat appellabatur, sive cum abbate pranderet aut cum conventu, vinum in quantitate satis copiosa apponebatur. Pergebat etiam cum abbate Premonstratense lustrans provincias regni Francorum, et in monasteriis oppidis et civitatibus precipue in dedicationibus ecclesiarum, verbum Dei predicabat, et stupebant qui eum audiebant admirantes super huius quae procedebant de ore ejus.

Inter hec auditur quod in eadem provincia quedam domus Ordinis Cartusie haberetur. Denique eodem tempore Ordo Cartusiensis devotissime venerabatur tum propter celebrem famam et sanctitatem venerabilis patris Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi, tum quis quidem abbas Premonstratensis nomine Rogerus natione Anglicus et ipsi Magistro Ade familiarissimus in domo Vallis Dei Ordinem Cartusiensem intraverat, ubi pro sua devota conversatione a multis venerabilibus et honestioribus viris honore et reverentie dignissime habebatur. Domus itaque illa Ordinis Cartusie de qua audierat est Domus Vallis Sancti Petri, et est in regno Francorum in episcopatu Lugdunensi. Ad hanc igitur domum videndam et visitandam affectu vigente et non segni corporis labore predictus Adam properavit. Quam cum vidisset non modico locali spatio a vicinis secularibus distantem et populo accessu minus communem et intus et deforis quietem summumque silentium verbi comprehendisset, intra se non mediocriter delectatus est dicens, "Vere non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta celi. O quam reverenda est Ordo Cartusiensis et omni honore preferendus!" Et tactus amoris ejusdem Ordinis intrinsecus et sollicitè satagens in futurum cum a sanctis viris in osculo sancto susceptus esset, et verbum Dei coram eis dignissime predicasset, et meritis eorum ac precibus se commendasset, necnon in hospitalitatis gratiam susceptus fuisset valefaciens, ille Premonstratum reversus est. Ubi quid viderit quid ve mente tractaverit haut segniter memorie reducens, hesitare cepit quid ageret. Denique si Ordinem Cartusiensem in transmarinis partibus intrare satagaret, profecto sciebat quod Abbas Premonstratensis et alii quamplures, in faciem ei resisterent. Si autem propositum et (fo. 218) intentionem suam super hoc eis vel saltem tenuiter propalaret, aut in virtute obedientie vel in comminatione sententie ne id quidem attemptaret, idem abbas nichilominus inhiaberet. Ut ergo quod proposuerat citius ac certius manciparet effectum, ab abbate licentiatu celeriori redditu properabat in Angliam. Deinde modico post intervallo temporis ad dominum Lincolniensem se contulit quem piis precibus sollicitavit quatinus interventione ipsius ac meritis in domum de Witham Ordinem Cartusiensem intrare ac fratrum ejusdem loci consortio mereretur adjuvari. Cujus preces Episcopus sanctus benigne ac libenter ut decebat admisit. Nec enim quis qualisve vel quantus vir ille fuisset antistitem ipsum latere omnino tunc potuit.

Sumptis igitur pontificalibus literis Priori de Witham ac conventui pro se directis, sepedictus Adam Witham venit. Eodem autem tempore conventus in loco minori morabatur, eo quod locus major necdum perfectus esset,¹ ne

¹ According to a sound tradition the monk's quarters were on the hill above those of the converses, whose locality was near their church, now the parish church of the village. Hence at Witham, as at the Grande Chartreuse,

proinde dedicatus; et quidem loci solitudine et modo conversandi non mediocriter delectatus in amorem solitarie conversationis flagranti desiderio estuabat. Cum igitur a priore et ceteris fratribus a osculo sancto devote admissus fuisset, non eis cujus rei gratia venisset statim aperuit. Sed verbum Dei coram eis faciens cujus nuntium et thema fuit *Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine*. Quod ita eleganter digne et luculenter prosecutus est, ut auditores ejus dulci admodum subfoderentur, compunctione et pia accenderentur devotione. Sed et Magister Eustachius, de quo supra pretaxatus est, qui sciolus habebetur inter eos in tantum super hiis que procedebant de ore ejus delectatus est, ut completo sermone rogaret obnixè quatinus aliquis ex fratribus ipsum sermonem coram eo, ipso recapitulante posset annotare et tenacius memorie commendare. Quod diligentissime fieri permisit. Deinceps vero prout ei libuit prolatis literis domini Lincolnensis cujus rei causa advenisset, humiliter eis ostendit. Cujus petitioni et desiderio fratres devotissime concedentes gaudebant Deo gratias agentes super tali ac tanti collega celitus eis collato. Sperabant namque prout consequenter experti sunt, illius exemplo et doctrina ad sublimiora nonnullos posse proficere et vite celestis desiderio flagrantius accendi. Ipse autem diligenter attendens quia nocet quandoque differe paratis, familiam suam cum equitaturis et omni supellectili sua, nichil sibi preter indumenta quibus vestiebatur retinens, domum remisit, vale dicens illis, et per eos omnibus qui eum prius noverant et dilexerant.

Susceptus autem juxta modum Ordinis Cartusiensis mutatoque habitu in cella positus, conversatus est in timore Dei et magisterio Spiritus Sancti. Necdum vero quatuor aut quinque in cella menses expleverat, cum subito ab insperato nuncio literas abbatissæ Premonstrati et capituli generalis ejusdem Ordinis comminatorias accepit. Quarum summa hunc modum habebat, scilicet quod nisi infra annum a susceptione mandati rediret ad ordinem quem minus discrete exierat, sciret se proculdubio ab omnibus abbatibus Premonstratensis Ordinis excommunicatum et pro excommunicato habendum. Super qua repentina comminatione, cepit pavere tedere et mestus esse. Verumtamen hujus nubulose temptationis mestitudinem satis cita et certa depulit consolatio. Domino namque Lincolnensi a primo consecratione sue tempore consuetudo fuit singulis annis, nisi urgentibus negociis prepediretur, Witham venire, et ibi per aliquod spatium temporis commorari et in cella [fo. 218v] sua que sibi semper vacua manebat, sue rachete¹ amplexibus dulcius deliciar. Igitur dum Magister Adam super comminatione sibi intentata anxius estuaret, affuit ei repente domini Lincolnensis desiderata presentia; propalatis igitur coram episcopo ab ipso Adam que sibi ab Abbate Premonstrati nuper fuerant denunciata, precepit

there were an upper and a lower house, here called the "locus major" and "locus minor." [Cf. *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* (R.S.), p. 67, the "major" and "minor ecclesia."] This passage in the Witham chronicle shows that the author of *St. Hugh's Life* was wrong (p. 82) as to both houses being finished under Hugh's priorate.

¹ *Racheta*, or *Rachatta*, *Rachetum*, etc. (from Fr. *rachat*), redemption or ransom. The chronicler is, of course, referring to Hugh's spiritual intercourse with his Lord and Redeemer in meditation and so on.

episcopus ei nullam curam super hiis aut sollicitudinem gerere, spondens firmiter ac pollicens infra terminum sibi prefixum episcopali diligentia ac providentia pacem et quietem super hujusmodi plenissimam sibi affuturam. Eodem nempe anno per Abbatem de Neuhus que domo Ordinis Premonstratensis in diocesi Lincolniensi sita est ad capitulum generalem accedentem Dominus Lincolniensis et de excellentia vite solitarie et dignitate professionis heremitice necnon quod sanctorum canonum auctoritate et sacre scripture assertione et sanctorum patrum exemplo liceat unicuique ad artiores vitam transire, Abbati Premonstrati et capitulo generali ejusdem Ordinis ita probabiliter ac literatorie studuit dilucidare, quod idem Abbas Premonstrati et ceteri quotquot erant in capitulo generali congregati per predictum Abbatem de Neuhus ad laudem et honorem et consolacionem Magistri Ade in hunc modum Priori de Witham unanimi scribere decreverunt.

P. permissione divina Premonstrati Abbas et ejusdem ordinis Abbates in generali capitulo congregati viro venerabili A. Priori de Witham salutem et sincera in domino caritatem. Cum pro revocando ad Ordinem nostrum fratre Adam monacho vestro quondam canonico nostro sepe laboravimus ob vite sue honestatem et suarum affluentiam literarum pro quibus ejus reditum credebamus nostro ordini cedere ad honorem, tandem videntes in vestro ordine ipsius perseverantiam ad preces venerabilis patris nostri H. Lincolniensis episcopi et dilecti in Christo fratris nostri Abbatis de Neuhus ipsum Adam vobis et Ordini vestro ab obedientia quam nostro fecit Ordini penitus reddimus absolutum. Valet.

Talibus igitur literis a capitulo generali Ordinis Premonstratensis adeptis noster Adam animequior effectus et ab comminatione et perturbatione penitus expeditus, totum se Deo devovit, totum se divinis obsequiis mancipavit et vite solitarie fervidus amator in silentio quiete et oratione et sacre scripture meditatione omne tempus vite sue postquam heremum de Witham ingressus est, devotissime expendit. In tantum ut nunquam a prima die ingressus sui in domum de Witham januam exteriori ejusdem domus preter semel exieret, vel in locutorium ante fores ecclesie digressus sit. Nec aliud in ipsa domo noverat iter nisi quo a cella ad ecclesiam tenditur et ab ecclesia in cellam reditur. Hiis igitur et hujuscemodo studiis et exercitiis indesinenter insistens, placebat tam Deo quam hominibus. Et erat vita ejus celibem conversationem profitentibus speculum et exemplar, et totius norma discipline. Verum etsi diligentius clam destino celle latibulo latere studeret, fama tamen conversationis ejus eum nullatenus delitescere permisit. Que quasi pira glebarum congerie inferius compressa, vi sui fervoris in libertatem purioris aeris erumpens, quamplurimum corda calefecit, et ad oblectamenta hujus vite occidue deserenda non segnus accendit. Properabat namque ad eum frequens turba magnatum, ecclesiastice dignitatis principes convenerunt, ut meritis ejus ac precibus sese commendarent et ut ex ore ejus roris celestis perfluentis stillicidio mererentur perfundi [fo. 219, Et quia vir sanctus non aliter docere potuit quam vixit, liquebatur auditoribus suis sepe cum effectu, et predicatio ejus placens et efficax, que usque ad medullas cordium auditorum quam sepius penetravit. Quod evidentius unius magnatis patuit exemplo.

Denique tempore domini Roberti quondam prioris hujus loci de Witham

de quo loco suo plurima restant dicenda,¹ sancte recordationis Hucbertus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus et totius Anglie primas, cui etiam eo tempore totius regni cura et sollicitudo post regem incumbebat, exosam habuit domum de Witham in tantum ut nec quam piam Ordinem Cartusiensem benigne posset aspicere. Quem utique quidem forestarii, homines quidem maligni et ceteris perversiores eidem domui delatorie aversum vel adversarium fecerant, derogando sumentes occasionem de quibusdem consuetudinibus cujusdem pasture predicte domus maligna interpretatione asserentes, et Archiepiscopo suggerentes, tales consuetudines viris religiosis minus congruere, que si digne ac verius estimarentur personis secularibus crudeles satis et perniciores censerentur. Porro modico intervallo ad expediendas monasterii Glastoniensis necessitates cum idem Archiepiscopus in provincia et partes domus de Witham contulisset, accessit ad eum predictus prior ejusdem domus, debitis tante excellentie precibus eundem sollicitans ac reverenter expostulans, quatinus domum de Witham Ordinis Cartusie sanctitatis sue presentia dignam duceret et fratres Cartusie inibi jugi detentos clausura, optata benedictione sua in Christo domino refoveret. Cujus precibus libentius favens et Witham veniens, in domo inferiori Archiepiscopus hospicio se recepit, ubi juxta possibilitatem mediocris substantie, ab ipsa domo pene in omnibus administratus est. Verum cum jam Archiepiscopus factus esset hillarior et amica ad invicem et grata miscerent colloquia, procurator domus ejusdem domnus Radulphus vir utique eloquens et sermone satis disertus tempus nactus opportunum, super consuetudinibus predicte pasture cum Archiepiscopo prudenti effatu disseruit, probabiliter asserens ab antiquis temporibus easdem inductas et institutas, et a generatione in generationem fuisse observatas, magis propter indemnitatem ipsius pasture conservandam, quam ob studium avaricie aut temporalis emolumenti lucrum consectandum. Et tam discrete ac prudenter in collatione illa se gessit, ut ipse Archiepiscopus consuetudines predictas non solum permissibiles verum etiam satis rationabiles assereret, et quam tam levi citius malignis delatoribus fidem dedisset, non mediocriter se ipsum reprehendebat.² Porro ab hujusmodi tanquam nugatoriis ad seria disserenda et comoda sese transferentes, de Ordine Cartusie et observantiis ejus grata ad invicem collatione conferebant. Erant autem nonnulli ex clericis domini Cantuariensis qui de Magistro Adam plurima didicerant, qui beati Hugonis collaterales fuerant, et domino suo eximiam illius in Christo conversationem et quanta eruditione et in divinis literis intelligentia

¹ The loss of this chronicle with its details of the early convent at Witham Charterhouse written by one of themselves is grievous. This Robert, we know from other sources, had been procurator, and was probably among the Chartreux first brought into England. He was the sixth prior of Witham, being the third after Hugh of Avalon (see *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 343 and *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 53, 74). Of the monks Eustace and Ralf (Radulphus) we know nothing.

² This dispute over customs exacted for pasture may have originated in complaints of the men of Cheddar who later violently disputed the rights of the Prior of Witham at Cedderford [Cheddarford]. (See Pat. Roll, 45 Henry III m. 7, and Assize Roll 762, 8 Edw. I. m. 16 *dorse*.) The foresters would be those of Mendip Forest.

preemineret, studiosius enarrabant. Super quibus tanti viri preconii delectatus Archiepiscopus promisit domino Roberto Priori hec eadem de ipso Adam asserenti, in domo superiori in crastino missas se velle audire, et ipsum Adam videre et diligentius alloqui. Quo summo mane cum ascendisset et a Priore in chorum introductus, vidisset sacerdotem ad celebrandum missarum solempnia juxta morem Ordinis sacerdotalibus vestibus indutum [p. 219v], mirari cepit vestium simplicitatem. Et statim ex capella sua preciosam casulam allatam panni diasperi precio lx^s solidorum precepit super altari offeri et ea sacerdotem statim indui. Missam autem illam celebravit pie memorie dominus Robertus quondam Prior Wintonie.¹ Archiepiscopus vero ad missam illam in cathedra sacerdotali juxta altare se habuit devotius solito orationi insistens, delectatus quidem loci humilitatem et simplicitatem heremetice professionis sumptuosa ecclesiarum ornamenta fastidientis. Expletis igitur missarum solempniis, congregati conventu, Archiepiscopus cum suis claustrum ingreditur. Dictoque ab ipso *Benedicite*, quis esset Magister Adam statim quesivit; quem certo indicio Prior ei designavit. Ille vero juxta quod scriptum est justus in principio sermonis accusator est sui, illico sic fatus est: "Sancte Pater ego sum Adam peccator vestre Sanctitatis servus." Archiepiscopus vero satis eum benigne alloquens rogavit ut consolationis gratia coram eo verbum Dei predicaret et divini verbi scientie ferculi quibus eum graciosius opimatum didicerat sibi suisque esurientibus aliquid saltem vel modicum impartiret. Quod quam digne exime et luculenter expleverit, rerum certius probavit eventus. Denique quia ille venerabilis pater mediocriter literalis intelligencie scientia imbutus erat, viros sapientes et gnaros et totius facultatis ingenue scientia preditos contubernales habere consuevit. Et quidem satis prudenter scilicet ut literaturam et scientiam quam minus pollebat quotiens opus expeteret facilius eam ab aliis deprope mutaret. Horum igitur quotquot tunc cum ipso Archiepiscopo presentes fuerunt, finito sermone et dignissime completo compuncti corde in laudem ipsius Ade devotissime proruperunt, fatentes et contestantes non hominem sed potius Spiritum Sanctum per hominem ipsum fuisse locutum. Mirabantur et gracias Deo agentes quod sancta ecclesia illo in tempore tales haberet lucernas quamvis sub modio private conversationis dilitescentes. Quid etiam idem archipresul fecerit, non sine admiratione contuendum est. Nempe expleto sermone quasi sermo divinus singulariter eum ac specialiter tetigisset, repente surrexit et Magistrum Adam per manum foras educens ait: "Expectate nos hic; donec redeamus ad vos." Ingressique cellum ipsius Ade mora diuturniori Archipresul de secretis suis cum ipso locutus est profluentibus lacrimarum imbribus ab oculis ejus in tantum ut ipse Adam attonitus stupe-ret. Depositisque indumentis suis tanquam Christi puerulus virgarum impositione disciplinam ab eo accepit, devotissime supplicans quatinus super Dominicam Orationem sibi componeret.

Exinde in claustrum regressi, Archiepiscopus fraternitate suscepta, et fratrum se orationibus commendans, pollicitus est plane ac spondidit omni tempore vite sue domum de Witham et occasionem ipsius Ordinis Cartusiensis specialiter ac propensius se dilecturum et honori et venerationi habiturum. Priori etiam domus illius precepit quatinus in omnibus necessitatibus et negotiis

¹Cf. *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, pp. 95-96.

domus sue que per eum expedienda confideret, procul hesitatione et diffidentia ad eum securissime properaret. Post que juxta morem confessione peracta et absolutione ab ipso devotissime cunctis presentibus exhibita, elevatis manibus benedixit fratribus, et recedens ferebatur ab eis. Verumtamen quam fideliter (fo. 220) benigne et devote omni postmodum vite sue tempore solverit, quod aliquando fideli sponsione promisit, ad dandum rei certitudinem eminens satis indicium fuit, quod ubicunque Prior de Witham ad eum postmodum venisset quibuscunque viris principalibus ac magnatibus vallatus aut circumseptus esset, venienti assurgere reverenter salutare et deosculari et sibi immediate collateralem sive in mensa sive in locis ceteris idoneis et honestis ipsum habere consueverat, et equi prioris cum equis Archiepiscopi qui de sella ejus erant ex precepto illius junctim in stabulo locarentur. Preterea cum idem reverendissimus pater pro regni negociis expediendis aliquando ad transfretandum urgeretur et prior de Witham ad capitulum generale properaret, non solum in classem quam sibi elegerat ipsum priorem secum assumpsit, verum etiam solus cum solo in scapha ejusdem puppis consedit, ubi in tante necessitatis articulo devotius orationi incumberent, et mutuo sese divinis solarentur alloquiis. Liqueat igitur perspicue episcopi provinciales et ceteri magnates Magistrum Adam quanta veneratione et honore excolebant quem ex sola collatione permodica princeps presulum tante familiaritatis et amicitie sibi glutino copulavit ut non solum offensam quam erga domum conceperat remitteret, sed etiam ipsam domum et Ordinem Cartusie pro Deo et illius amore et reverendo diligeret et diligendo reveretur.

Igitur cum prefatus Adam ut ex parte aliqua preostensum est sacris polleret moribus et jure Deo pie devotionis et defecate¹ orationis instantia longanimi sollicitus gratum sacrificium immolasset, haberetque jam plurimos dies essetque provectus etatis, quia juxta apostolum, *Quem diligit Dominus corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit*, acriori morbo quem medici morbum mortuum vocant, correptus est. In qua infirmitate ferme biennio ante decessum sui decoctus et quasi aurum quod per igne transit probatus mundior et ideo felicior ex carnis ergastulo ad feliciora migravit. Denique cum heremum nostram de Witham xx^{ti} pene iii^{or} annis venerabili presentia et devotissima conversatione illustriorem redidisset et tam Deo quam hominibus gratus esset et acceptus, sub interdicto generali quod imperante domino papa Innocentio tercio propter venerabilem patrem Stephanum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum et ob indurationem Johannis regis Anglorum universam Angliam et Walliam per septennium constrinxerat, dominica palmarum die convocato ad eum cetum monachorum cum priore domino Roberto de Caveford² quasi ultimum illis vale faciens, de conservanda adinvicem caritate et quanta concordia et unitate

¹ The chronicler employed this word perhaps in conscious imitation of Master Adam, who used it especially in connection with meditation: *defecata meditatio* occurs in several places in the *De quadripartito exercitio Celle*.

² This monk had been a recruit to the Chartreux at Witham from a not very distant locality probably. Caueford (Caveford) was an old spelling of the place Keyford, now part of the town of Frome. In writing from my notes of this manuscript, I unfortunately misread the name, and printed it wrongly in my book (*op. cit.*, p. 76) as Caneford.

uniri deberent, sermonem longius protraxit. Et enim singultu lugubri et lacrimis singulis fratribus deosculatis et ejus benedictionem perfruitis, conventus ad cellas reversus est. Feria vero ebdomade sancte tertia, cum jam mori putabatur ab hiis qui ei ministrabant, super cinerem benedictum et cilicium positus, congregato ad eum de more conventu sine dolore aliquo et gemitu vel suspiriis dormienti magis quam morienti similis compressis luminum palpebris in Christo feliciter obdormivit. Cujus corpus abluere et de more Ordinis pannis insuere, in feretro locare et in ecclesiam deferre et ad tumulum portare, in sepulchrum etiam (fo. 226^v) deponere, licet immerito mihi qui hec utcunque dictando compilavi gracie concessum est. Denique cum isto venerabili patre Magistro Adam comes individuus et socius contubernalis in hac heremo nostra de Witham amplius quam decem annis extiti, non quasi comes aut socius sed potius sicut alumpnus et pedisequus, licet ejusdem habitus et Ordinis. Et ideo unde oriundus extiterit aut quomodo ad nostram heremum sua presentia clariorem et devotissimam conversatione diutina sanctiorem reddendam se aliquando transtulerit sicut ab ejus ore colloquendo aut scripta sua legendo didici, brevi ac succincto sermone et minus polito ad noticiam plurimorum tam presentium quam futurorum sic literatorie ut prefertur dirivare conavi. Si cui vero in voto fuerit scire Magistram Adam cujus figure et habitudinis extiterit, noverit eum fuisse statura mediocrem, juxta mediocritatem stature satis corpulentum, facie hilarem, capite calvum, et tam pro venustate morum quam etate et canicie valde reverendum.

Quia vero idem venerabilis vir Magister Adam sacre scripture intelligentia non mediocriter effulsit, antequam Witham adveniret plures tractatus divine pagine edidit, quos in duobus codicibus magnis compegit. Qui codices, quia ea que in illis continentur in modum omeliarum digesta sunt, Sermonarii Magistri Ade appellantur. Plura etiam opera in domo de Witham ubi per xxⁱⁱ pene iii^{or} annos monachus ejusdem Ordinis, viz. Cartusiensis sancte et humilime semper sub obedientia vixit, opera digne commemoranda elaboravit. Ex quibus est Libellus super canonem Misse: Item libellus *de Quatripartito Exercitio Celle*: Item libellus super Dominica Oratione ad Hucbertum Archiepiscopum: Item libellus qui intitulatur *Speculum Discipline*: Item libellus qui dicitur *Dialogus Magistri Ade*: Item libellus quem vocavit *Exameron*: Libellus de consanguinitate Anne matris Beate Marie et Beate Elizabeth matris beati Johannis baptiste: Item libellus qui dicitur *Secretum meum mihi*: et plura alia opera meritoria et scripta fecit et edidit que ad presens memorie mee minime occurrunt, dicit compilator etc.

(fo. 221.)

DE PRIORE DE WITHAM ALBERTO NOMINE.

Eodem tempore Dominus Hugo Lincolniensis Episcopus cui specialiter auctoritate Capituli generalis domus de Witham commissa fuerat predicto Alberto ad se accersito querelas satis graves et querimonias intorsit¹ eo quod

¹ The use of this word here is perhaps unusual: the sense seems to be that Bishop Hugh having summoned Prior Albert hurled complaints and laments

referentibus quibusdem monachis et conversis de Witham certius didicisset ipsum minus religiose ac devote ad honorem Dei et proximorum salutem in domo sua conversari. Cumque se objectis sibi episcopo minus ad votum satisfaceret, nec, stomachantis animi motus, digna responsione mitigaret, illico ab administratione Prioratus amotus etc. Siquidem ille Albertus monachus erat domus Portarum immo et de numero fratrum illorum primus quos illustris rex Henricus in prima vocatione a Cartusia in Angliam adduxerat. Hic igitur suscepto prioratu, quia vir erat simplex et intelligentie literalis eruditionem medio-criter edoctus, quod inter humane occupationis exercitia potissimum arbitratus est illud cum felice Magdala optimum duxit, viz. : exercitiis celle vacare, orationi devotius incumbere, contemplatione supercelestium mentem sustollere, theoricis discipulis studiosius inhiare. Sub prioris hujus regimine viri pleclarissimi quatuor convenerunt, quorum primus fuit Magister Adam Abbas quidam Ordinis Premonstratensis, domus ejusdem Ordinis nomine Driburge. Secundus extitit Magister Robertus Prior majoris monasterii et ecclesie cathedralis Wintonie. Tertius fuit Magister Walterus prior ecclesie cathedralis Batonie. Quartus autem juvenis Theodorus nomine, secularis. Porro viri isti et precipue tres illorum preter honorem et reverentiam prelationis quam quondam preminebant scientia doctrina et eloquentia tam clari extiterant ut singulorum laudes stilo venustiori explicari et dignius mererentur efferrí quam parvitatís mee sermo possit explere etc.¹

at him because of the bad report received from monks and converses alike. Hugh on quitting Witham for the See of Lincoln had probably recommended Albert for election to the priorate as a man of very devout life, and felt especially vexed at his failure as Prior of his beloved convent.

¹ This extract, apparently not quite full, seems to be taken from a part of the chronicle preceding the long passage on Adam of Dryburgh. The names of these recruits under Prior Albert and the description of Master Adam's appearance and list of works, evidently from this chronicle, are among notes made by W. Mede of Sheen Charterhouse in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix. The Prior of Winchester mentioned was Robert Fitz Henry to whom, after he had become a Carthusian, Richard of Devizes dedicated his *De Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi*. Walter Prior of Bath did not remain at Witham. (See *Annals of Winchester* (R.S.), p. 68.)

LETTERS OF THE FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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THE Sumerian section of the Rylands Collection of Cuneiform Tablets was published in a special volume in April. It is now proposed to present the non-Sumerian cuneiform material in chronological order in subsequent numbers of the BULLETIN.

The following pages contain in copy, transliteration and translation, the first instalment of a small group of Babylonian letters (about 40, including fragments). The second will follow in the January number. The letters of this period (i.e. *c.* 2100 B.C.) are divided into letters "royal" and "private." The Rylands group are "private" though not intimate, between private individuals, or between an individual and a government official.

Gimiliya is the one who is most often addressed, and we may conjecture that the Rylands Collection contains part of the private letters of this man. In view of the fact that no other letters addressed to him have been published, we may say that the letters are "news."

The tablets are probably from Kish, a source rare enough to make this collection of great interest.

885, 890 (?), 895, 898 are addressed to the *šapirum*. It is not possible to define exactly the function of this officer. It would seem that he was a "district" officer responsible for the "economy" of a definite area, e.g. Kish (no. 898) or of "the land" or "province" (nos. 885, 890 (?)) or even "my agent" (895).

The matter of the correspondence is clear from the translations. The gaps and the summaries of nos. 894, 897, are due to the rubbed or broken condition of the tablets, as indicated by the shaded portions of the copies shown on the Plates.

About 600 letters of this period have been published. They belong to the age of the Code of Hammurabi and can be studied in the light of and with a view to that Corpus of Law. The mass of legal material, the detail of legal procedure and law-court organization revealed by these letters and the Code, illustrate something of what is meant by the description "The Golden Age of Hammurabi" and explain the permanence of its achievement which survived that age by 1500 years, and by how many more after Babylon's decline?

Notes to the translations and a list of word forms of personal and place names will be added to the entire collection when published as a volume at an early date.

My thanks are due to Dr. Guppy for kind encouragement to publish the Letters.

885.

a-na ša-pi-ir ma-tim	(R) a-ša-ap-pa-ar-šu-nu-ši-im-
ša (il)Marduk ú-ba-al-la-tú-	ma
šu,	a-bi-a-ti-ia i-ip-pu-šu
ki-bi-ma	aš-šum (m) (il)Na-bi-um ma-lik
um-ma (il)En-lil-ga-ma	kalû
(il) Šamaš ù (il)Marduk da-	awêl (al)Ḫa-bu-li(ki)
ri-iš û-mi li-ba-al-li-tú-ka,	ma-aḫ-ri-ia ki-a-am iš-ku-un 15
5 i-nu-ma (il) Marduk šu-um-ka	um-ma šu-ú-ma
iz-ku-ru	a-na <i>ba-ab be-lu-tim</i> ma-ti-ma
ma-di-iš aḫ-du	ma-am-ma-an'ú-ul iš-si-a
um-ma a-na-ku-ma	i-na-an-na ša-pi-ir ma-tim
a-we-lum ša i-di-a-ni	iš-pu-ra-am-ma ni-pa-ti-ia iṭ- 20
šu-um-šu it-ta-áz-ka-ar	te-pu-ú
10 a-bi-a-ti-ia i-ip-pu-uš	a-we-lum a-we-il ga-ti-ia
an-na-nu-um a-we-lu-ú	ú-ul na-ka-ar
ša la i-du-ni-in-ni	6 il-ki i-la-ak
	ù igisâ šangû-tim ù kalû-tim
	1-ša-ag-ga-la 25
	a-nu-um-ma ṭup-pí
	uš-ta-bi-la-ak-kum

Edge : šum-ma i-na ki-na-a-tim, ta-ra-am-ma-an-ni,
a-na bi-ti-šu ma-am-ma-an, la i-ša-ás-si.

Say to the district agent, to whom Marduk has given life, thus says Enlilga : may Šamaš and Marduk grant thee life to length of days ! When Marduk called thy name I rejoiced exceedingly, saying : A man who knows me, his name has been called, my wishes(?) he will do. Forthwith men who do not know me, (R) to them I will write and my wishes they will do. Concerning Nabium-malik the *kalû* priest, an *awêlum* of Habuli reported to me, saying : " To 'the gate of lordship' (?) not a one appealed. Now the district agent has written and my pledges they have seized."

The *awêlum* is my deputy, he is no stranger, he shall make six corvées and pay the taxes of the priesthood and of the *kalû* priests. Now my letter I am having sent to thee. If thou truly lovest me allow no one to appeal against his house.

886.

a-na Gi-m[i-li-ia]
 ki-bi-ma
 um-ma KA-(il)Aia-ma
 be-lí ù be-el-ti aš-šu-mi-ia
 5 dar-ri-iš û-mi-im
 li-ba-al-li-tú-ka
 aš-šum be-el-ti-ia,
 ki-ma na-aš-ga-a-ta
 ù i-na Babilí(ki)
 10 at-ta a-di i-[na-an-n]a
 ù-ul i-di-e
 [a-na] si-ir
 (R) [ni]-zi-iḫ-ti-ia
 ù ni-zi-iḫ-ta-ka
 15 e-iš-me-e-ma
 at-ta-zi-iḫ
 a-na šu-ul-mi-ka
 aš-pu-ra-am
 šu-lu-um-ka
 20 šu-up-ra-am
 ù 2 šiqlē kaspam
 ša ra-ma-ni . .

Say to Gimili-ya thus says KA-Aia. May my lord and my lady for my sake give thee life to length of days ! Concerning (?) for the sake of) my lady, that thou art in distress and (that) thou art in Babylon, I did not know till now. To my annoyance and (R) thine I have heard (it), and I am distraught. For thy well-being I have written. Write that thou art well, and two shekels of silver which belong to me give to Etelpi-Marduk. At the moment he is suing me.

a-na E-ṭél-pi-(il) . . .

Edge : *id-di-iš-šu* (*sic* !)

i-na-an-na ú-da-ba-ba-an-ni.

887.

- a-na Gi-mi-li-ia
 ki-bi-ma
 um-ma Bi-ru-ru-tumma
 (il)Marduk be-lí ù (il) Zar-pa-
 ni-tum be-el-ti
 5 aš-šu-mi-ia da-ri-iš û-mi
 li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka,
 aš-sum bi-tim ša Mâr-(il) Taš-
 me-tum
 ša a-na rê'i ŠAH(?) (zun) ad-
 di-nu
 bi-tum šu-ú
 10 ú-ul id- . -uš
 (R) bi-it awêl Tupliaš(ki)
 wá-ar-ka-tam pu-ru-uš
 (m)Mâr-(il) Taš-me-tum šu-ú
 ú-ul na-ka-ra-am
 15 ap-ti-ir iš-tu li-a-am
 ni-ku-ul
 bi-tam ša Mâr-(il) Taš-me-tum
 ša a-na rê'i ŠAH(?) (zun)
 ša ad-di-nu
 20 a-na Mâr-(il) Taš-me-tum
 te-e-ir

Say to Gimiliya : thus speaks
 Birurutum : May Marduk my lord
 and Zarpanit my lady for my sake
 grant thee life to length of days !
 Concerning the house of Mar-
 Tašmetum which I gave to the
 swineherds that house . not . (R)
 The house of the *awêlum* of
 Tupliaš enquire into (its) past.
 That Mar-Tašmetum I released
 as not an enemy, after we received
 the document. The house of
 Mar-Tašmetum, which I gave to
 the swineherds, give back to Mar-
 Tašmetum.

888.

a-na Gi-mi-li . . ša be-lí ú-ba-
 [al-la]—ṭú-šu
 ki-bi-ma um-ma KA-(il)-Aia-
 ma
 be-lí ù be-el-ti aš-šu-mi-ia
 da-ri-iš û-mi-im

(R) [an]-ni-ki-a-am ú-ul ad-
 bu-ba-ku
 te-iṭ-bi-e ta-ta-la-ak-ma
 ûmi-3(KAM)
 ki-ma gi-e-im a-ba-aš-ši
 a-ka-la-am ù me-e

20

5	li-ba-al-li-tú-ka	ú-ul e-li-im-mi	
	i-nu-ma a-mu-ru-ka	še-a-am ša am-ḥu-ru	25
	ki-ma ša a-na ga-gi-im	ù ša at-ta tu-ša-bi-la	
	e-ru-bu-ma pa-ni be-el-ti-ia	at-ta-a-ma ti-di-e	
	a-mu-ru ù a-ḥi-ia-a(?)	i-na ki-mi-na-an-na	
10	a-na pa-ni-ia uš- . .	ma-am-ma-an-ni a-na ma-am-	
	a-na pa-ni-ka aḥ-du-ú	ma-an	
	um-ma at-ta-a-ma	ú-ul i-ḥa-ba-at-ti	30
	iš-tu i-na-an-na ūmi-	ga-du-um bi-ti-ia	
	10(KAM)	la a-ma-at-ti	
	wa-aš-ba-a-ku aḥ-du-ú-ma	še-a-am ša ki-ma šu-bu-li-im	
15	te-mi ma-aḥ-ri-ka	šu-bi-la-am-ma	
	ú-ul aš-ku-un-ni	bi-ti lu-ba-li-iṭ-ti,	35
	ú-ul li-ša-am	a-na ši-ir ku-uš-šu-ú(?)	
	aš-ta-na-pa-ra-ku	ù bu-bu-tum	
		la i-ka-la	

Edge : šum-ma li-ib-bi la a-ma-at-ti
 (m ?)Gi-mi-li-ia ša a-na ka-šu-um aḥ-du-ú
 a-na ma-am-ma-an-ni ú-ul aḥ-[du].

Say to Gimili, to whom my lord has given life, thus says KA-Aia : May my lord and my lady for my sake grant thee life to length of days ! When I saw thee, as they entered the 'convent' and I saw the face of my lady, and my brothers were . . . to me. At thy presence I was glad. Thus didst thou speak : Ten days ago I settled here, I rejoice and (thus it is that) I have not laid my report before thee. I really have not (any report). I have sent repeated messages to thee. (R) I did not sue thee here. Arise and come ! For three days I have been like meal. I cannot eat or drink. The corn which I received and which thou didst despatch, thou knowest ! Just now no one will commit a robbery against anyone. Along with my family, I shall not die. Despatch the corn which shall be as that already sent, that I may keep my household alive against the cold, and hunger may not consume (it). If it is my wish (*i.e.* depends on me), Gimiliya, I shall not die. I who have had joy in thee have no joy in anyone.

889.

- a-na Gi-mil-ia ki-bi-ma (R) eḫlum i-di-ru um-ma i-
um-ma E-têl-pî-(il)Marduk- di-ir-ma
ma i-ku-ul um-ma a-we-lum-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk aš-šu ŠU-GIR Mâr-I-din-(il) Za-
mi da-ri-iš û-mi li-ba-al-li- mà-mà pa-te-si šu-ú
tú-ka, ka-ni-ik šarrim ša in-na-ad-
aš-šum te-im nâri pa-te-si ša nu-šum
a-na šarrim ta-aš-pu-ra-am li-il-ki-a-am-ma a-wa-tam pa- 20
5 (m) Il-šu-ba-ni a-na šarrim nam ma(?) -ta-ar
iḫ-ta-bi-ma šum-ma ki-ma aḫ-bu-kum am-
um-ma šarrum (tablet broken ta-li it-ti-ia
across) i-la-’ mi-im-ma-an û-ma-am
nârum li-na-pî-iš ki-a-am i-a-ti ik-la-an-ni
šarrum i-pu-ul-ku(?)-[um] zu-ha-rum šu-ú ka-ni-ik-šu li-
aš-šum (m)I-ku-nam ša šu-gu- il-ki-a-am-ma
bí-im li-bi . -an-na . . li-is-ni-ga-am
wa-ar-ka-zu ap-ru-uš-ma ú-ul su-ḫi-ir-su i-pa-al- (broken) . 25
wa-ši-ib a-na pa-ni-ia lu-ú ir-su(?) -ú
10 i-na mu-uḫ-ḫi eḫil bilti-šu-ma aš-šum a-la-ki a-na âl ma-laḫ
2 amâti-šu ša-ak-nu
at-ta-pî-a-am aš-šum eḫli I- Mar-I-din-(il)Za-mà-mà li-ra-
din-(il)Za-mà-mà pa-te-si ḫa-am-ma
a-na a-we-lim aḫ-bi-ma a-we- a-wa-tim ki-ma i-ma-ra-an-ni-
lum a-na Gi-mil-(il)Mar- in-ni
duk i-na a-la-ki-ia i-na mu-uḫ-ḫi 30
iḫ-bi-ma um-ma Gi-mil-(il) eḫlim(im)
Marduk-ma eḫlam a-šar . . ip-pu-uš aš-šum a-wa-tim ša
ša-bi-it ù ka-ni-ik šarrim ša . . .
15 ú-ul na-ši-i KU . a-na Il-šu-ba-rum ša ak-
bu- . .

Edge : a-ša-al-šu-ma mi-im-ma a-wa-tim ši-i
ú-ul i-ba-aš-si ṭe-im-ma
la ta-na-ku-ut

Say to Gimilia : Thus speaks Etelpi-Marduk : May Šamaš and Marduk for my sake give thee life to length of days ! In the matter

of the report on the patesi's canal of which thou didst write to the king: Ilšubani spoke to the king. Thus (said) the king (*rest of line broken away*). Let the canal be widened (?) according as the king replied. Concerning I-ku- nam . . . I looked into his past history and he does not dwell (here), and against his rent-field I took as pledges two of his maid servants. Concerning the field of Idin-Zamama the patesi, I spoke to the *awêlum* and the *awêlum* spoke to Gimil-Marduk. Thus says Gimil Marduk: the field is taken . . . and (?) but has not the royal seal. (R) The field . . . and has consumed it. Thus the *awêlum*. The *bá'iru*, son of Idin-Zamama the patesi, let him take the royal seal which was given to him, and thus he . . . the former matter. If as I have told thee, the families (?) join forces with me, can anyone to-day restrain me? Let that young man take his seal and thus let my heart . . . enter . . .

(27) In reference to the journey to 'Sailor-town' which was arranged, let the son of Idin-Zamama lead it. When he sees me, on my journey to the field, he will do the business. I shall ask a garment for Ilšubarum of whom I spoke *to thee*. Whatever of this affair does not materialize, don't be anxious.

890.

a-na Gi-mi-li-ia	(R) iš-tu a-bi a-na ši-im-tim	
ki-bi-ma um-ma KA-(il) Aia-	il-li-ku a-aḫ-ḫu-ia	
ma	nu-du-na-am ša pí-i ṭup-pí-ia	
·be-lí ù be-el-ti aš-šu-mi-ia	ú-ul id-di-nu-ni-im	25
li-ba-al-li-tú-ka	û-ma-am a-wa-tum	
5 aš-šum ki-a-am ta-aš-pu-ra-	ú-na-am-i-ni ta-ši-a-am	
[am]	na-di-tum ša a-aḫ-ḫu ša	
um-ma at-ta-a-ma am-mi-ni	. . si-ri-ša	
ra-ma-an-ša a-na . . . a-li-im	la . . ša aš šu-šé ?	30
id-di-i a-bu . . MU 6(KAM)	a . . li-bi-ša	
ki-a-am iḫ-ta-ab-bi-a-am	tup-[pí]-i i-na-di-in	
10 (il)En-lil-ma alpi(zun)	daiāne(meš) a-ma-ḫa-ar	
(m)ŠU-mi-li ša . . (zun)	te-im-ka ga-am-ra-am	
lu-ud-di-na-ak-ki um-ma a-	šu-up-ra-am	35
na-ku-ma	a-bu-ka ù be-lí-ia-a	
i-na ṭup-pí-ia wa-ru-da-a-ku-	iḫ-ta-ab-bu-ni	
ma	a-nu-um-ma (m)A-na-tum	
a-aḫ-ḫi-ia ú-ul ab-ba-la-ka-at	aš-tap-ra-ak-ku	

- 15 aš-šum be-el-ti-ia i-na eḫli-ia 3 ŠE.GUR 40
 i-na bi-ti ti-iš-bu-ta-tim e-il-ki e-ba-ri-a-ku
 pī-i ṭup-pī-ia a-di e-iš-ši-tim . a-na ši-ir še-im
 ú-ul e-iš-me-e
 ù ṭup-pī a-di i-na-an-[na]
 20 ma-ḥar we-še-ir-ti-ia-ma
 iš-ša-ki-in
 Edge : ša šu-ḥa-ra-tim bi-ta-ti
 . -ru . -ti pī-ki-id ti-nu-du ne- . .
 šu-bu-lim šu-bi-la-am la ta pa- . .

This is an important but difficult text. The *obverse* is obscure but the general sense would seem to be that the writer, a lady, has not been made acquainted with the latest documents in a case which concerns her. In the *reverse* we have: "after my father died, my brothers did not give me the *nudunnu* in accordance with my tablet. Every day the word . . . troubles me. The *naditu* priestess whose brothers (33): I shall go before the judges. Write me all thy news. Thy father and my lord have spoken to me. Now I send Abatum to thee. I have (*or* he has not) received from my field 3 *gur* of barley. I am famished."

891.

- a-na [ša-pī-ri-ia ša (il)Marduk Say to [my agent to whom Mar-
 ú-ba-al-la-] ṭú-šu duk has given] life : Thus says
 ki-bi-ma ŠU-i-li-šu, May Samaš and Mar-
 um-ma ŠU(!)-i-lī-šu-ma duk etc. In reference to the cows
 (il)Samaš ù (il)Marduk etc. of which thou hast written. As
 5 aš-šum LID. GUD (zun) ša thou knowest, since we came,
 ta-aš-pur-am a rent-field of 6 *BUR* a field . .
 ki-ma ti-du-u iš-tu ni-il-li-kam I have rented. The field at
 eḫlam bilti 6 Bur eḫlam . . once . . . ; the fallow ground (?)
 ú-še-ši-ma I shall plough (?) and the 2
 eḫlum(um) mi-id-ḥa-ri-iš cows which are on hand . . .
 10 . . ra-an-ni-ma 10 days hence I shall send cows
 [ma]-ia-ri a-ma-ḥa-as and drover that they may do thy
 (R) ù(?) 2 LID. (zun) ša i-ba-aš wish. Write that the cows are
 ši-a al-da not idle.
 ša wa-ar-ka-an-nu-um (*Rest of tablet broken away.*)
 lu-ú iš-tu úmi 10 (KAM)-ma

15 LID.GUD (zun) ù ŠÀ.GUD

lu-ut-ru-dam-ma

ši-bu-ut-ka li-pu-šu

ki-ma LID. GUD (zun) la ri-
kušu-up-ra-am-ma . . -tu ni-ik-
kum

20 um-ma a-na-ku . . .

(Rest broken.)

892.

a-na Gi-mil (il)[Marduk-ma]

ki-bi-[ma]

um-ma E-ṭel- . . .

(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.

5 bi-tum (?) ša-lim mi-im-ma la

ta-na-an-zi-ik

i-na na-aš-pa-ki-im

1 GUR . šamaššammim a-na

I-din-(il)Za-mà-mà

ad-di-in

si-it-ti šamaššammim 10(QA)

10 a-na kuṭimim ad-di-in

ma-la na-da-an ṭi-im NI. GIŠ

a-na ga-di-iš-tim ad-di-in

5½ . Qa . ša ½ šiqil kaspim

a-na (il)Šamaš-ib-gal ad-di-in,

15 . . NI. GIŠ dam-ki-im

. ša . -bi a we

.

(R) a-di eš-ri-šu aḫ-bi-ši-ma

a-pa-lum-ma ú-ul i-pu-la-

an-ni

20 wa-ar-ki-ka . . .

. ši-i-ma ú-ul aḫ-bi-kum

šu-ḫa-ar(?) -ka

. mu . .

. ūmi 2(KAM)

.

Say to Gimil-Marduk, thus says

Etelpi- : May Šamaš and Marduk

etc. The house is well, be not at

all distressed ! From the granary

I gave 1 GUR of sesame to

Idin-Zamama ; of the rest of the

sesame 10(QA) I gave to the

silversmith ; I gave to the

hierodule ; 5½ QA worth ½ shekel

of silver, I gave to Šamašibgal.

. . . . (R) I have said it ten times

but he has not paid me.

893.

- a-na Wa-at-ta-a ki-bi-ma,
 um-ma Gi-mil-(il)Marduk-
 ma,
 (il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk da-
 ri-iš û-mi
 li-ba-al-li-tú-ka
 aš-šum ša ta-aš-pur-am um-
 ma at-ta-ma
 5 (m) . . . -ma-a-ḥa pa-te-si aṭ-
 tar-dam
 it-ti-šu tu-ru-dam
 (m) Il-šu-ba-ni pa-te-si ša ga-
 ti-ia
 ša i-na Ḥa-ab-bu-uz(ki)[wa-
 aš-] bu
 li-it-ru-ni-ik-kum-ma
 10 a-na ma-aḥ-ri-ia tu-ur-dam
 ša ta-aš-pur-am
 a-na Ḥa-ab-bu-uz(ki) aš-si
 (R) (m) Še-li-bu-um ra-bi-a-nam
 it-ru-nim-ma
 15 ki-a-am iḳ-bi-a-am um-ma šu-
 ma
 lubuttû ša ga-ta-ti-šu il-ka
 ú-ul wa-ši-ib a-na gi-ir-ri-im
 it-ta-la-ak
 ki-a-am iḳ-bi-a-am
 20 aš-sum lubutti i-na gi-[ir-ri]-
 im
 wa-aš-bu
 ni-pu-zu ú-ul . . -a-kum
 šum-ma ta- . -ab-bi-dam-ma
 . . . ša ri-a-kum

Say to Watta: Thus speaks Gimil-Marduk. May Šamaš and Marduk grant thee life to length of days! Concerning that of which thou didst write to me saying: I have despatched X the patesi; do thou send with him. Let them fetch to thee Ilšubani the patesi, my deputy, who resides in Habbuz and send him to me. What thou hast written I have charged against Habbuz.

(R) They have fetched Šelibum the prefect and (it is) as he said saying: the *lubuttû* officer whose hands he took, does not dwell (here), he has gone on an expedition. Thus he spoke. As for the *lubuttû* who is on the expedition, his pledge do not . . .

894.

a-na A-we-li-ia ù (il)En-lil-	li-im-ma-ri- . e-ri-šum e-ri-šu	
ba-ni-i	šum-ma alpi(zun) a-na (âl) 10	
ki-bi-ma	Ki-kal-la(ki)	
um-ma E-têl-pi(il)Marduk-ma	it-ta-ás-ḥa-nim	
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk-ma li-	te-ir-ra šu-nu-ti-ma	
ba-al-li-tú-ku-nu-ti	(R) ši-pí-ir-šu-nu li-iš-ba-tu	
5 aš-šum . . . ša ma-aḥ-ri-ku-nu	a-na ša aš-pu-ra-ku-nu-ši-im	
ka- . am(?)šu-nu aš-pu-ra-	ni-di a-ḥi la ta-ra-ši-a 15	
ku-nu-ši-im	ur-ra-am ma-aḥ-ri-ku-nu a-	
. . . nu la i-na a-ḥu-nim	na-ku	
A . ŠA . [ma]-ia-ri ša ta-am-		
ḥa-[aš ?]		

Summary.—A letter addressed to two persons. *Obverse* is damaged but contains the interesting but puzzling expression *eqlam mayari mahašu*, for which 'to plough the field, the fallow land,' has been suggested.

Lines 10 to end read: If the oxen have been removed to Kikalla, return them that they may (R) take up their work. In the matter of which I wrote to you, let there be no negligence. To-day (?) I (shall) confront you.

895.

a-na ša-pí-ri-ia,	ra-i-mi-ka	
ki-bi-ma,	. -ba-na ad-bu-ba-šum-ma	
um-ma I-ku-un-pi-(il)Za-mà-	(R) ne-me-ta-ka 10	
mà	a-na mu-ḥi (il)Sin-iš-me-a-	
lš-dar ù (il)Za-mà-mà aš-šu-	an-ni	
mi-ia	uš-ta-aš-ki-in	
5 ša-pí-ri da-ri-iš û-mi	ša-pí-ri . . .	
li-ba-al-li-tú-ka	ṭup-pí-ka a-na E-têl-pi-(il)	
aš-šum alpi ša (âl)Gu-du-a(ki)	Marduk	
ù ŠAH(?) ša ne-me-ta-ka	bu-un-na-am-ma 15	
a-na E-têl-pi-(il)Marduk	šu-bi-lam	

To my agent speak, thus says Ikunpi-Zamama: May lštar and Zamama for my sake, O my agent, grant thee life for length of days. In the matter of the ox belonging to the city of Kutha and the pig (?) which is thy tribute, I have spoken to Etelpi-Marduk who loves thee . . . and he has had thy tribute delivered to Sinišmeanni . . . Make thy tablet for Etelpi-Marduk and send it.

896.

- a-na Gi-mil-ia ki-bi-ma
 um-ma E-têl-pi-(il)Marduk-
 ma
 (il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
 TAK. ša ta-aš-pur-ra-am
 5 uš-ta-bi-la-kum TAK. ši-ni . .
 ma-ḥar A-we-il-(il)Šamaš i-
 na (al) Ki-kal-la(ki)
 ša-ak-na-at
 da(? for ma)-di-iš dam-ga-at
 . . . -im
 60 i-na su-ḥa-ri-e
 10 a-na ma-aḥ-ri-šu
 (R) li-iš-ḥi-iṭ-ma
 ba-ra-ri-tim . UD. šu-a-ti
 li-id- . . . ni-kum
 ma-di-iš dam-ga-[at] . -ki-a
 a-ba-aš-ši
 15 a-ṭa-ra-da-ak-kum
 ú-ul li-mu-ru

Say to Gimilya : thus speaks
 Etelpi-Marduk : 'may Šamash
 and Marduk preserve thy life,
 etc. The stone about which
 thou hast written, I have sent to
 thee. It is deposited with Awel-
 Shamash in Kalla. It is very
 good. Let him show it to 60 (?)
 of the young men in his presence
 and at the first watch . . this day
 it shall be given (?) to thee. It
 is very good . . . I shall despatch
 it to thee. They must not see
 (it).

897.

- a-na a-we-lim ša (il)Marduk
 ú-ba-al-la-tú-šu
 ki-bi-ma
 um-ma la-an-ti . . .
 (il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk da-ri-
 iš ú-mi li-ba-al-li-tú-ka
 5 lu-ú ša-al-ma-ta
 Lù Ḥa-bu-uz-(ki) ki-a-am
 iḫ-bu-nim
 um-ma [šu-nu]-ma
 a-na ZAB . GI . IL la il .
 ni-is-zu-ni-a-ti-ma
 ú-da-ab-ba-bu-ni-a-ti
 10 ki-a-am iḫ-bu-nim
 . . a-na ZAB . GI . IL . šu-
 a-ti
 . . . šu-nu-ši-im-ma
 a-wa-ti-šu-nu li-mur . .
 (R) ki-ma ZAB GI . IL
 šu-ú la la-bi-ir šu-nu
 i-na É . NIG . GIŠ . MÁ 15
 in-na . .
 iš-tu i-nu-mi-šu a-na ZAB .
 GI . IL šu-a-ti
 ad-du-ub-bu-ub-šu-nu li-rum
 iḫ-bi
 a-wa-tum ši-i i-na la i-di-im-
 ma
 iḫ-ta-bi-a-ak-kum
 wa-ar-ka-tam pu-ru-uš-ma 20
 a-we-lu-ú-šu-nu la ud-da-ab-
 ba-bu-ma
 la iš-ta-na-as-su

Summary.—The men of Habuz report that ‘we called up a levy and they are suing us.’ The writer excuses the words (of the levy ?) as due to ignorance, orders an enquiry into the past history of the matter, and declares that the men (of Habuz) shall not be proceeded against.

898.

a-na ša-pí-ir Kiš(ki)
 ki-bi-ma
 um-ma Mu-na-wi-rum-ma
 (il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk ù (il)-
 Za-mà-mà da-ri-iš û-mi
 5 li-ba-al-li-tú-ka
 aš-šum MU(meš) awêl Kiš(ki)
 aḫ-ta-na-ab-bi-ku-um-ma
 ú-ul ta-am-gu-ra-an-ni
 ù (m) (il)Na-bi . . . PA .
 MU(meš)
 10 aš-ba-ta-ku-um-ma
 um-ma a-na-ku-ú-ma
 (R) ù šu-ú li-iḫ-bi-an-ni
 il-kam a-ḫi-a-am li-ri-id-di-
 aš(?) -šu-nu-ti
 aš-šum l-din-(il)Za-mà-mà
 15 ša ta-ad-din-šu-ma
 a-we-lam wa-ar-ka-as-su
 ú-ul pa-ar-sa-a-ta
 ma-ka-al-ti be-li-ia
 ú-ul i-mi-iz-zi-e
 20 a-we-lum šu-ú
 in-na-ad-din-kum(?) a-na mi-
 nim
 an-ni-tam te-pu-uš
 aḫ-ta-na-ab-bi-kum-ma
 ú-ul ta-ma-ga-ra-an-ni
 25 ma-ḫar be-lí-ia a-ša-ka-an

Say to the agent of Kiš : thus speaks Munawirum : May Šamaš and Marduk and Zamama grant thee life to length of days ! Concerning the bakers of the *awêlum* of Kiš I wrote to thee repeatedly. Thou hast not complied with me. And Nabi-, the foreman of the bakers, I have arrested for thee. Thus I (have done) (R) and let him report to me. On another corvée let him put them. Concerning Idin-Zamama whom thou hast handed over, do not investigate the man as to his past. Do not . . . the . . . of my lord. That man has been handed over to thee (?). Why hast thou done this ? I have spoken to thee repeatedly but thou dost not comply with me. I shall lay (the matter) before my lord.

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5. 王恩望全集 445

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LIST OF CURRENT PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS, INCLUDING TRANSACTIONS OF LEARNED SOCIETIES IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

COMPILED BY T. MURGATROYD,

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

ARRANGEMENT.

1. GENERAL, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, AND LITERARY.
2. FINE ART.
3. HISTORICAL.
4. NATURAL SCIENCE.
5. PHILOLOGICAL.
6. PHILOSOPHICAL.
7. SOCIOLOGICAL.
8. THEOLOGICAL.

The range of the library's set of each publication is indicated by the date. An entry in which the date is given thus : "*Paris, 1858, etc.*," implies that the first volume in the library is that which appeared in 1858, and that all subsequent issues are to be found upon the shelves.

With a few exceptions the sets are complete from the commencement of the career of the respective publications.

When a concluding date is given it denotes that the periodical has ceased to appear (marked by an asterisk), or that the library has ceased to subscribe (marked by a dagger). As a general rule, supplements to periodicals have not been indicated, but it may be assumed that they accompany their respective sets.

1. GENERAL, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, AND LITERARY.

* Aberdeen University Library. *Bulletin*. . . . October, 1911 to April, 1913 (-June, 1931). *Aberdeen*, [1911-31]. 7 vols. 8vo.

R 28412

† Aberdeen University review. Volume I. 1913-14. *Aberdeen*, 1914. 1 vol. 8vo.

R 36194

- Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. *Bibliotheca Celtica*: a register of publications relating to Wales and the Celtic peoples and languages for the year 1909 [etc.]. *Aberystwyth*, 1910, etc. 8vo. R 24686
- Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. *Actas das sessões da primeira classe*. . . . 1899-1904 [etc.]. *Lisboa*, 1908, etc. 8vo. R 35821
- *Actas das assembleas geraes* . . . 1899-1905 [etc.]. *Lisboa*, 1905, etc. 8vo. R 35822
- *Boletim da segunda classe* . . . Volume 4 [etc.]. . . . *Coimbra*, 1911, etc. 8vo. R 35823
- *Boletim bibliographico*. . . . *Lisboa*, 1910, etc. 4to. R 35820
- [Publications.] *Lisboa*, 1858, etc. 4to. and 8vo. R 27103, etc.
- Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras. *Anales*. . . . *Habana*, 1916, etc. 8vo. R 40748
- [Publications.] *Habana*, 1914, etc. 8vo. R 39349, etc.
- Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1857* [etc.]. *Paris*, 1858, etc. 8vo. R 9178
- *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires*. . . . *Paris*, 1894, etc. 4to. R 21797
- *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*. . . . *Paris*, 1900-1905, etc. 8vo. R 46489
- Académie des Sciences de Cracovie. See *Towarzystwo Naukowe*.
- Accademia Pontificia de' Nuovi Lincei [afterwards] Reale Accademia dei Lincei. *Atti*. . . . *Roma*, 1851, etc. 4to. and 8vo. R 4632
- *Monumenti antichi*. *Milano*, 1889, etc. 4to. R 5136
- *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. . . . Anno 1917 [etc.]. *Milano*, 1917, etc. 4to. R 45497
- Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia. *Annali*. . . . Anno 1 [etc.]. *Roma*, [1927-28, etc.]. 8vo. R 64601
- Adult education and the Library. See *American Library Association*.
- Akademija Umiejętności w Krakowie. See *Towarzystwo Naukowe*.
- Alighieri: rivista di cose dantesche. . . . *Verona*, [1889-] 1890-93. 4 vols. 4to. [Continued as:] *Giornale dantesco*. . . . *Venezia*, 1894, etc. 4to. R 15365
- Alpine Journal: a record of mountain adventure and scientific observation. . . . 1863-1864 [etc.]. *London*, 1864, etc. 8vo. R 3417
- American Library Association. *Bulletin*. . . . *Boston*, 1907, etc. 4to. R 56331
- American Library Association. *The library journal*. . . . *Journal of the American Library Association*. *New York*, 1877, etc. 4to. R 7821

- American Library Association.—Commission on the Library and Adult Education. Adult education and the library. [*Chicago*], 1924, etc. 8vo. R 59274
- American literature: a journal of literary history, criticism and bibliography. . . . 1929 [etc.]. [*Durham, N.C.*, 1930, etc.]. 8vo. R 68461
- American Oriental Society. Journal. *Boston*, 1849, etc. 8vo. R 2618
- Annual register, or a view of the history, politicks, and literature for the year 1758 [etc.]. *London* [1787?], etc. 8vo. R 3614
- * Art and letters: an illustrated quarterly. July, 1917 (-Spring, 1920.) [*London*, 1917-20.] 3 vols. 4to. R 46450
- * Arthurian Society. Arthuriana. Proceedings of the Arthurian Society. . . . January, 1928-January, 1929 . . . [Continued as:] Arthuriana: a review of mediæval studies . . . January, 1929-June, 1930. [*Oxford*, 1929-30.] 2 vols. 8vo. R 70684
Superseded by Medium ævum. See *infra*.
- Arthuriana. See Arthurian Society.
- Association des Bibliothécaires Français. [Publications.] *Paris*, 1912, etc. 8vo. R 28830, etc.
- * Association of Modern-Irish Studies. Gadelica: a journal of modern Irish Studies. . . . Vol. I. *Dublin*, 1912-1913. 1 vol. 8vo. R 32145
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- See also Nation.
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- Barcelona: Diputacion Provincial de Barcelona. Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya. *Barcelona*, 1914, etc. 4to. R 36407
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- Berlin: Königliche Bibliothek. Jahresbericht. . . . 1907-08 [etc.]. *Berlin* [1908, etc.]. 8vo. R 28522
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- Bibliographical Society of America. Proceedings and papers . . . 1904-1905 [etc.]. *New York*, 1906, etc. 8vo. R 28265
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 R 63462

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Bulletin of bibliography. . . . *Boston* [1899, etc.]. 4to. R 18256

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- Deutsche Litteraturzeitung. 21 Jahrgang [*etc.*]. *Leipzig*, 1900, *etc.* 4to. R 5497
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- Mitteilungen . . . Oktober, 1912 [*etc.*]. No. 50 [*etc.*]. [*Berlin*, 1912, *etc.*]. 8vo. R 33781
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- Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Jahrbuch. . . . *Berlin, and Weimar*, 1865, *etc.* 8vo. R 11815
- Schriften. . . . *Berlin*, 1904, *etc.* 8vo. R 33110
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- Monographs. . . . *London*, 1914, etc. 8vo. R 35437
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